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# **‘Expanding Horizons’: Investigating the Glasgow 2014 Legacy for Young People in the East End of Glasgow**

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy**

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## Abstract

The recent staging of Glasgow 2014 drew universal praise as the ‘Best Games Ever’. Yet the substantial undertaking of hosting the Commonwealth Games (CWG) was sold to the nation as more than just eleven days of sporting spectacle and cultural entertainment. Indeed, the primary strategic justification offered by policymakers and city leaders was the delivery of a bundle of positive and enduring benefits, so-called ‘legacy’. This ubiquitous and amorphous concept has evolved over time to become the central focus of contemporary hosting bids, reflecting a general public policy shift towards using major sporting mega events as a catalyst to generate benefits across economic, environmental and social dimensions, on a scale intended to be truly transformative. At the same time, the academy has drawn attention to the absence of evidence in support of the prevailing legacy rhetoric and raised a number of sociological concerns, not least the socially unequitable distribution of purported benefits.

This study investigated how young people living in the core hosting zone related to, and were impacted upon, by the CWG and its associated developments and activities with reference to their socio-spatial horizons, the primary outcome of interest. An ‘ideal world’ Logic Model hypothesised that four mechanisms, identified from official legacy documents and social theories, would alter young people’s subjective readings of the world by virtue of broadening their social networks, extending their spatial boundaries and altering their mind sets. A qualitative methodology facilitated the gathering of situated and contextualised accounts of young people’s attitudes, perceptions, beliefs and behaviours relating to Glasgow 2014. In-depth interviews and focus groups were conducted before and after the Games with 26 young people, aged 14-16 years, at two schools in the East End. This approach was instrumental in privileging the interests of people ‘on the ground’ over those of city-wide and national stakeholders.

The findings showed that young people perceived the dominant legacy benefit to be an improved reputation and image for Glasgow and the East End. Primary beneficiaries were identified by them as those with vested business interests e.g. retailers, restaurateurs, and hoteliers, as well as national and local government, with low expectations of personal dividends or ‘trickle down’ benefits. Support for Glasgow 2014 did not necessarily translate into individual engagement with the various cultural and sporting activities leading up to the CWG, including the event itself. The study found that young people who engaged most were those who had the ability to ‘read’ the opportunities available to them and who had the social,

cultural and economic capital necessary to grasp them, with the corollary that those who might have gained most were the least likely to have engaged with the CWG. Doubts articulated by research participants about the social sustainability of Glasgow 2014 underscored inherent tensions between the short-lived thrill of the spectacle and the anticipated longevity of its impacts. The headline message is that hosting sporting mega events might not be an effective means of delivering social change. Aspirant host cities should consider more socially equitable alternatives to sporting mega events prior to bidding; and future host cities should endeavour to engage more purposefully with more young people over longer time frames.

# Table of Contents

Abstract .....	2
List of Tables.....	8
List of Figures .....	8
Acknowledgement.....	9
Author's Declaration.....	10
Abbreviations .....	11
Chapter 1    The Show that Never Ends?.....	12
1.1    Study Background .....	12
1.2    Study Aim.....	14
1.3    Thesis Outline.....	15
Chapter 2    A Leap of Faith .....	17
2.1    Chapter Overview.....	17
2.2    Sporting Mega Events .....	17
2.2.1    The Allure of Sport .....	19
2.2.2    Sport and Neo-liberalism .....	22
2.3    In Pursuit of Legacy .....	25
2.3.1    Idealistic Origins .....	25
2.3.2    Evolution of Legacy .....	27
2.3.3    Towards a Definition of Legacy .....	33
2.4    Beyond Legacy Rhetoric .....	37
2.4.1    The Case for Legacy .....	37
2.4.2    The 'Missing' Social Dimension .....	39
2.4.3    Lessons for the Future.....	41
2.5    Chapter Summary.....	44
Chapter 3    Young People's Horizons .....	45
3.1    Chapter Overview.....	45
3.2    Youth and the Life Course .....	45
3.2.1    Theorising Youth in a Post-Modern World .....	46
3.2.2    Self and Society.....	48
3.2.3    New Choices, Old Constraints? .....	49
3.2.4    Youth Policy in Scotland .....	51
3.2.5    A 'Life Course' Perspective.....	55
3.3    Social Capital Theory .....	56
3.3.1    'Weak' and 'Strong' Ties.....	59
3.3.2    Bourdieu and Inequality .....	60
3.3.3    Social Capital and Young People.....	61

3.3.4	The Social Capitalisation Process .....	63
3.3.5	Young People's Social Resources.....	63
3.4	Significance of Place .....	67
3.4.1	Theory of Place Attachment.....	68
3.4.2	Place Attachment and Young People: The Present.....	70
3.4.3	Place Attachment and Young People: The Future .....	72
3.5	Chapter Summary .....	73
Chapter 4	Theorising a Glasgow 2014 Legacy.....	75
4.1	Chapter Overview.....	75
4.2	History of the CWG in Scotland .....	75
4.2.1	The Edinburgh 1970 CWG .....	76
4.2.2	The Edinburgh 1986 CWG .....	77
4.3	Glasgow 2014.....	79
4.3.1	Contextual Changes .....	79
4.3.2	Bidding for Glasgow 2014.....	80
4.3.3	The Consultation Process.....	83
4.3.4	Glasgow 2014 Legacy Plans .....	85
4.3.5	A Prudent Investment?.....	87
4.4	A Defining Moment for the East End .....	89
4.4.1	The 'Problem' with the East End.....	90
4.4.2	Growing Up in the East End .....	93
4.4.3	Previous Regeneration Efforts .....	95
4.4.4	The Dialectics of Social Inclusion .....	97
4.5	Expanding Young People's Horizons .....	99
4.6	Chapter Summary .....	103
Chapter 5	Testing the Hypothesis.....	111
5.1	Chapter Overview.....	111
5.2	Research Strategy .....	111
5.3	Design Issues .....	114
5.3.1	Temporality .....	114
5.3.2	Conducting Research with Young People.....	116
5.4	Research Methods .....	118
5.4.1	Setting and Location .....	118
5.4.2	Data Collection.....	123
5.4.3	Sampling and Recruitment.....	126
5.4.4	Research Tools .....	132
5.5	Ethical Considerations.....	136
5.5.1	Informed Consent.....	137
5.5.2	Anonymity .....	137

5.5.3	Confidentiality .....	138
5.6	Data Analysis .....	138
5.6.1	Data Management .....	139
5.6.2	Data Abstraction and Interpretation .....	142
5.7	From Research Questions to Research Findings .....	144
Chapter 6	‘Preparing the Stage’ .....	146
6.1	Chapter Overview .....	146
6.2	A ‘Sporting’ Legacy .....	146
6.2.1	Sporting Infrastructure .....	147
6.2.2	Widening Participation .....	148
6.3	A ‘Connectivity’ Legacy .....	154
6.3.1	Territorial Young People .....	158
6.3.2	Non-territorial Young People .....	159
6.4	A Reputational Legacy: ‘Pride in the East End’ .....	161
6.4.1	‘A False Identity’? .....	165
6.5	‘Should I Stay or Should I Go?’ .....	169
6.5.1	‘A Route Out of Here’ .....	170
6.5.2	‘Moving Out, Moving On’ .....	171
6.5.3	‘Push/pull’ of Neighbourhood .....	172
6.5.4	Dwelling in the East End .....	173
6.6	Chapter Summary .....	173
Chapter 7	‘Joining in the Spectacle’ .....	175
7.1	Chapter Overview .....	175
7.2	Attitudes toward the CWG .....	175
7.2.1	Attitudinal Influences .....	176
7.2.2	Cognitive Responses .....	179
7.2.3	Affective Responses .....	182
7.2.4	Planned Engagement .....	187
7.3	Actual Engagement with the CWG .....	189
7.3.1	Glasgow 2014 Legacy Programmes .....	189
7.3.2	The CWG event .....	194
7.4	Reflections on the CWG .....	201
7.4.1	‘Communitas’ .....	202
7.4.2	Suspension of Disbelief .....	204
7.4.3	Suspension of Norms .....	204
7.5	Chapter Summary .....	206
Chapter 8	A Source of Inspiration .....	207
8.1	Chapter Overview .....	207
8.2	Embedding the CWG in Education .....	207

8.2.1	Educational Policy: ‘Going for Gold’ .....	208
8.2.2	Educational Practice: Breaking the Cycle.....	209
8.3	Inspired by the CWG.....	217
8.3.1	Elite Athletes .....	218
8.3.2	Visitors to the CWG.....	221
8.3.3	Glasgow City.....	223
8.4	From Inspiration to Aspiration .....	224
8.4.1	Pupil Aspirations .....	224
8.4.2	Attribution to the CWG.....	228
8.5	Chapter Summary .....	236
Chapter 9	Epilogue .....	237
9.1	Chapter Overview.....	237
9.2	Summary of Main Findings.....	237
9.2.1	Addressing the Study’s Research Questions.....	237
9.2.2	Cross-cutting Themes.....	243
9.3	Study Strengths and Limitations .....	245
9.4	Study Implications.....	247
9.4.1	Contribution to Policy .....	247
9.4.2	Theoretical Contribution .....	249
9.5	Concluding Remarks .....	251
Appendix 1:	Letter of Approval from Glasgow City Council .....	253
Appendix 2:	Topic Guide Wave 1 .....	255
Appendix 3:	Topic Guide Wave 2 .....	258
Appendix 4:	Focus Group Discussion Wave 1 .....	260
Appendix 5:	Game on Scotland Video Transcript .....	261
Appendix 6:	Key Informant Topic Guide .....	262
Appendix 7:	Map of East End of Glasgow .....	264
Appendix 8:	Personal Timeline.....	265
Appendix 9:	Pupil Consent Form.....	266
Appendix 10:	Parental Opt-Out Form.....	267
Appendix 11:	Information Leaflet .....	269
Appendix 12:	Node Classification .....	271
Appendix 13:	Thematic Framework .....	273
List of References	.....	279



## List of Tables

Table 4.1	Glasgow 2014 Legacy Programmes for Young People (source: Glasgow City Council)	108
Table 5.1	Comparison of Educational Attainments (source: Education Scotland).....	121
Table 5.2	School Leaver Destinations 2012/13 (source: Education Scotland).....	122
Table 5.3	Sample Profile at Wave 1 and Wave 2 .....	129
Table 5.4	Comparison of Sample Profile to School Year Group.....	130
Table 5.5	Overview of Data Collection Methods .....	131
Table 5.6	Data Management Process .....	140
Table 7.1	Comparison of School Engagement with Glasgow 2014 .....	190

## List of Figures


Figure 2.1	Glasgow 2014 Brand Identity (source: Scottish Government) .....	31
Figure 3.1	Positive Destinations by Deprivation Level (source: SDS) .....	54
Figure 4.1	Study Area in its City Context (source: Scottish Government) .....	90
Figure 4.2	The GoWell East End Study Area (source: Scottish Government) .....	91
Figure 4.3	Population in East End ranked by SIMD (source: Scottish Government) .....	92
Figure 4.4	Young People's Horizons Logic Model: 'Ideal World' .....	109
Figure 4.5	Young People's Horizons Logic Model: 'Worst Case' .....	110
Figure 5.1	The CfE Learning Journey (source: Education Scotland).....	127
Figure 5.2	Nodes Clustering Model .....	142
Figure 6.1	Good and Bad Aspects of Neighbourhood: Tag Cloud .....	157
Figure 7.1	Glasgow Ladder of Participation .....	195
Figure 8.1	Type of Inspirational Impact.....	229

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## Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signed: 

Printed Name: Maureen Kidd

## Abbreviations

CfE	Curriculum for Excellence
CGF	Commonwealth Games Federation
CGS	Commonwealth Games Scotland
CWG	Commonwealth Games
CYP	Children and Young People
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
FSM	Free School Meals
GCC	Glasgow City Council
GCPH	Glasgow Centre for Population Health
HIA	Health Impact Assessment
IOC	International Olympic Committee
LA	Local Authority
LM	Logic Model
MRC	Medical Research Council
NEET	Young Person not in Education, Employment or Training
OC	Organising Committee
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OG	Olympic Games
OGI	Olympic Games Impact
OGGI	Olympic Games Global Impact
SCQF	Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework
SG	Scottish Government
SIMD	Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation
SNS	Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics
URC	Urban Regeneration Company

# Chapter 1    The Show that Never Ends?

## 1.1 Study Background

On the evening of 3 August 2014, the 20<sup>th</sup> Commonwealth Games (CWG) drew to a spectacular close with a star-studded closing ceremony at Hampden Park Stadium, Glasgow. This multi-sport event, involving over 6500 athletes and officials from across 71 nations and territories, was the largest that Scotland had ever staged and the very first time that Glasgow had hosted the CWG. With a record haul for Scotland of 19 gold medals and a total tally of 53 medals, the hosting of the CWG was indeed a defining moment for both city and nation. Most memorable was the accolade bestowed on the host city by Prince Imran of Malaysia, President of the Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF), who straightaway declared Glasgow 2014 as the ‘Best Games Ever’ (BBC, 2014b).

Yet the story of Glasgow 2014 does not end there, for the substantial undertaking of the CWG was ‘sold’ to the nation as more than just eleven days of sporting spectacle and cultural entertainment. From the outset, the primary strategic justification offered by policymakers and city leaders for hosting the event was the anticipated delivery of a bundle of positive and enduring benefits, commonly referred to as ‘legacy’ (Glasgow City Council, 2009, Scottish Government, 2009). In public documentation, legacy has been framed consistently in terms of the ‘triple bottom line’ of attracting inward investment and increased tourism (profit); a catalyst for enhanced physical infrastructure, including the regeneration of the city’s East End (place); and an opportunity for social improvement and renewal (people).

Glasgow 2014 warrants critical scrutiny for two reasons. The first is that legacy expectations have been set high, with the hosting occasion constructed in terms of a ‘once-in-a-lifetime’ opportunity to generate universal and positive benefits on a scale regarded as truly transformative. In this respect, the scale of Glasgow’s legacy ambitions are no different from those of other hosts of prestigious multi-sport events. However, as legacy has evolved to become the central focus of contemporary hosting bids (Agha et al., 2012, Leopkey and Parent, 2012a), so too have scholars reminded the academy of its responsibility to venture behind the homogeneous ideals within legacy discourse in order to reveal the more heterogeneous realities (Dixon and Gibbons, 2014, Raco, 2004, Silk, 2011, Tomlinson, 2014, Weed, 2008). In so doing, the intention is that the recurrent rhetoric surrounding legacy might be replaced by a more measured narrative.

But there is a broader sociological imperative too. Over the past two decades, sporting mega events have become increasingly popularised as the policy intervention of choice for urban leaders and political elites (Black, 2008). This newfound status has brought these complex and multi-dimensional events, formerly the preserve of distinct and unrelated fields such as historic, touristic and sport studies, onto the radar of the broader social sciences. Roche (2000), universally cited as the first academic scholar to initiate a sociological study of mega events, explained the relative lack of research attention up to that point:

‘because of their ‘one-off’ event characteristics, and thus because of the unique story which needed to be told about each of them, the generalizing social sciences have perhaps tended to assume that they belonged to the subject-matter of history and that there was little of a general kind to say about them (p.5).

The hosting of mega events introduces the prospect of ‘fateful moments’, defined by Giddens (1991) as ‘phases at which things are wrenched out of joint, where a given state of affairs is suddenly altered’ (p.113). This disruption of normal business might be revealed on a number of different levels. On a personal level, Roche suggests that a mega event might be regarded as a ‘temporal and cultural marker’ for individuals who might subsequently ‘reflect on and periodise their biographies in relation to the readily identifiable and memorable great public events which affected them during the course of their lives’ (p.5). Similarly, on a national level, hosting a mega event might constitute a defining moment in its history: ‘(mega events) represented and continue to represent key occasions in which nations could construct and present images of themselves for recognition in relation to other nations and ‘in the eyes of the world’’ (p.6). More fundamentally still, an examination of sporting mega events provides a unique window on the processes of social and economic change in relation to the ‘contemporary realities of global societies and global society-building’ (Roche, 2006a p.37). In sum, sporting mega events constitute a ‘site of social reflection’ (Dixon and Gibbons, 2014 p.7).

At this juncture, it is worth reflecting on the title of this introductory chapter and its relevance to the topic of investigation. The phrase, ‘The Show that Never Ends’ is drawn directly from the lyrics of a charity single, launched as part of Glasgow 2014 in aid of UNICEF and composed and performed by East 40, a band named after the postcode of the schools and the number of schoolchildren involved from Glasgow’s East End. On hearing them for the first time, the words struck a chord with the researcher because it conveyed straightaway the inherent tension between the transitory thrill of a spectacular event such as Glasgow 2014 and ‘all that remains’ (Chappelet 2012) in its aftermath by way of legacy. On a more sinister

note, 'show' brings to mind the theorisation by some scholars of mega sporting events as 'bread and circuses' (Murphy and Bauman, 2007) or crafted spectacles (Harvey, 1996), utilised by the dominant classes to pacify and entertain mass populaces while diverting attention away from underlying social inequalities (Smith, 2009). 'That never ends' also alludes to the Pied Piper phenomenon of mega sporting events rehearsing the same rhetorical discourse and ritualistic formulae to appeal to aspirant cities and nations across the globe. In the words of Debord (1994), it might be argued that the spectacle has become 'the main production of present-day society' (p.16).

## 1.2 Study Aim

Legacy is an amorphous and elusive concept which has exhibited remarkable elasticity over the past decade, extending its thematic reach to embrace an accumulating number of domains, sectors, groups and contexts. The first task in this study therefore was to tether the concept to a specific outcome, a particular group of individuals, and a defined geographical area so that it might become more amenable to critical scrutiny. After some deliberation, it was determined that a useful focus for investigation would be the horizons or world views of young people living in the East End of Glasgow. The following paragraphs provide the justification for this decision.

It is fitting that young people should have salience within this study. In the first instance, the etymological origins of legacy suggest the transfer of benefits to a future generation (Concise Oxford English Dictionary, 2011). Moreover, it is also customary to conceptualise young people as 'adults in the making' and to characterise this defining point in the life course as a 'time of opportunity, or flux and transformation' (Furlong, 2013) when important decisions and choices are made, which ultimately determine future life chances and outcomes. Given the construction of Glasgow 2014 as the catalyst for a multitude of new opportunities, young people living in the East End of Glasgow were theoretically assumed to be well positioned to benefit most by virtue of their residence in the core hosting zone, which has witnessed the greatest concentration of legacy efforts and undergone a profound physical transformation.

The aim of this research was to investigate how young people living in the East of the City related to, and were impacted upon by, the CWG and its associated developments and activities. The outcome of interest was that of 'expanded horizons'. From the Greek word, *kuklos*, meaning 'limiting', horizon serves as a useful metaphor to denote the range of an individual's knowledge, experience, interests or expectations. Accordingly, social horizons

are taken to mean young people's social relationships such as family, friends, school teachers, sports coaches; whilst spatial horizons are located in place and are related to young people's spatial identity, their spatial freedoms and their spatial behaviour. Social and spatial horizons combine to account for different subjective interpretations of the world. A broadening of horizons is invariably considered in positive terms (White and Green, 2011). With regard to young people living in disadvantaged areas, expanded horizons are associated with upward social mobility i.e. having high(er) aspirations for the future; a willingness to consider opportunities beyond their existing spatial comfort zones; and having social connections which provide access to more knowledge and exemplars in support of the realisation of these same aspirations.

It is worth stating from the outset the ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning the study, namely that of critical realism. This perspective distinguishes between two inter-related realities: the objective reality of a 'real' world, akin to the structured social space of the 'field' (Bourdieu, 1989); in conjunction with subjective interpretations of this world. Furthermore, in line with researchers who promote the sociology of childhood, a central concern was to design and conduct the research whilst recognising children and adolescents as active social agents capable of interpreting their experiences and of expressing their opinions in their own words.

### **1.3 Thesis Outline**

The first three chapters provide the conceptual foundations for this study. Chapter 2 defines the term 'sporting mega event' and notes its changing nature and significance over the past century. The increasing attraction to city leaders of hosting such events is explained with reference to the dominant neo-liberalist context of globalisation and consumption. This chapter also explores the social construct of 'legacy' in terms of its origins, evolution and present-day codification and asks whether the recent addition of a social dimension to legacy ambitions denotes a genuine return to social reformist roots, or whether it simply reflects a desire amongst political leaders to post-rationalise public investment.

Chapter 3 examines the different approaches to an understanding of 'youth' in the academy. Central to the theoretical debate is the increased emphasis afforded within policy to individualisation and the extent to which personal agency continues to be constrained by structural inequalities. Current youth-related policy in Scotland is interrogated to reveal its underpinning assumptions, tensions and contradictions. The theories of social capital and



place attachment are also drawn upon to ascertain their influence on the formation of young people's future goals and intentions.

Chapter 4 provides an historical account of the CWG in Scotland including the particular circumstances surrounding the decision to bid for the 2014 CWG and subsequent public consultation around planning for legacy. Official documentation for Scotland and Glasgow City are scrutinised for legacy promises around young people and the East End. This chapter concludes with the development of a hypothesised 'ideal world' logic model (LM), which explicates potential pathways towards achieving the outcome of expanded horizons and provides the heuristic framework for the study. A second LM is included to ensure that the theoretical risk of unintended consequences is also taken into account. Chapter 5 describes how the models are to be tested by means of empirical research. It identifies the key research questions and aims to provide a comprehensive, transparent and reflexive account of, and justification for, the methodological choices made in the study.

The main outputs from the investigation are presented in the following three chapters, with each focusing on particular causal pathway(s) within the hypothesised LM and discussing the findings in relation to the current theoretical and empirical literature. Accordingly, Chapter 6 turns its attention to the main findings regarding Place Transformation; Chapter 7 to those pertaining to the experientially-oriented mechanism of Participation and Engagement; while Chapter 8 combines the findings from the remaining two mechanisms - Education & Learning; and Inspiration. The theatrical analogy acts as a leitmotif to thread the findings chapters together. Therefore, the regeneration of the East End is interpreted by the researcher as being akin to the production of the set for a forthcoming stage performance; CWG participation as a response to the drumroll to attract and excite the audience; the educational programme as the propagation of the main narrative or script; and inspiration as having the power to captivate individuals and alter their worldview. The analogy also underscores the complementarity and synergy of the individual components.

Chapter 9 returns to the original research questions and provides considered responses to them. It then considers the strengths and limitations of the study, with the benefit of hindsight, and reflects on the implications of the findings for current policy and practice as well as suggestions for future research. The concluding section considers the bigger picture and appraises the hosting of the CWG in the wider paradigmatic context of neo-liberalism.

## **Chapter 2     A Leap of Faith**

### **2.1 Chapter Overview**

The purpose of this chapter is to situate the CWG within the emerging phenomenon known as ‘sporting mega event’. It is organised into three parts. The opening section highlights the unique and defining characteristics of mega events and endeavours to explain the growing allure of mega events to political elites and public officials with reference to the prevailing neo-liberalist context of globalisation, competition and consumption. The second part turns its attention to the concept of legacy. As mega events have grown in costs, so too have expectations concerning the imprint they might be expected to leave in their wake. The origins of legacy in the context of sporting events are explored, and its historical trajectory traced from modest beginnings to its present day institutionalisation. Several scholars have attempted to capture the elusive concept within a definition which reflects its breadth and inherently complex and dynamic nature, and this is a welcome development. However, the issue is more than a semantic one. The lack of shared understanding among multiple and diverse stakeholders (politicians, corporate elites, event organisers, academics, general public) and the presence of competing needs and agendas inevitably give rise to a number of ethical issues which are discussed. The final section critically examines the evidence base for legacy and highlights areas of interest which warrant further academic scrutiny in the next iteration of legacy research.

### **2.2 Sporting Mega Events**

This section aims for a deeper understanding of sporting mega events by de-constructing the term into its various constituents. The word ‘event’ is generally understood to denote a short-term and discrete happening. Certainly, the noun has immediate connotations of the unfolding of a dramatic occasion. In so doing, this explains the priority afforded to the staging of a thrilling spectacle and underscores the imperative of ‘putting on a good show’. It is certainly no coincidence that the Olympic Games (OG) have been described in the literature as ‘the greatest show on earth’ (Vigor et al., 2004). The word also suggests that this phenomenon constitutes a single episode or ‘one off’ opportunity to deliver a meritorious performance. Black (2008) acknowledges the galvanising influence of an immovable fixture or deadline which ‘concentrates the mind and resources in ways that few other stimuli can do’ (p.476). His view correlates with that of the OECD (2010) which claims that ‘fixed deadlines foster pace and discipline’ (p.15). Accordingly, the event organiser or impresario

will take every precaution and spare no expense in ensuring that the event is ‘successful’, however defined. On this very point, the OECD distinguishes between the ‘complementary but different tasks’ of achieving, on the one hand, a successful event, interpreted here as ‘a good sports competition, an excellent trade show’, and, on the other, a successful legacy, which leaves ‘its host location better off than it was before’ (p.17). Unintentionally, the OECD statement serves as a harbinger of the inevitable potentiality for tension or conflict of interest between what is essentially a short-lived ‘happening’ and a long-term ‘legacy’, a recurrent theme throughout this thesis.

Sports events are appropriately characterised as ‘mega’ due to their scale and complexity. The London 2012 Olympic Games (hereafter London 2012) involved 10,500 elite athletes, drawn from 204 countries to compete across 26 different sports. The estimated cost of staging London 2012 was circa £11 billion within a complicated set of financial arrangements involving private and public expenditure, with the latter accounting for the lion’s share at £9 billion (Olympic Delivery Authority, 2012, Rogers, 2012). Similarly, due to innovative developments in mass communication technologies, these spectacles are no longer tethered to the domestic stage but have been transformed into significant globally mediated events, delivering audiences on an impressive scale (Roche, 2006b). Organisers of London 2012 claim to have reached a global audience of 4.8 billion people (LOGOC, 2012). In the domestic market, viewing figures for the Games are said to have broken all previous records, with 51.9 million (90%) of the UK population reported having watched at least 15 minutes of coverage during the event (BBC, 2012).

At this juncture, it is worth noting a hierarchy within the genre of sporting mega events. The purpose of this categorisation is not to demean the stature or influence of the CWG, but rather to determine its relative positioning, and therewith its capacity to effect change. Black (2008) distinguishes between three ‘orders’. The Summer Olympics is the most prominent and publicised of these, described as the ‘supernova’ (alongside FIFA’s World Cup), in terms of its complexity, scale and international profile (Horne, 2012). The fact that Manchester failed on two occasions in its bid to host an OG (it was decided on the third attempt that London would have a better chance, and that Manchester should lower its sights to bid for the 2002 CWG) bears witness to Black’s view that only a few truly global cities can credibly bid to host ‘first order’ events. Black defines ‘second order’ events, such as the CWG, as being of ‘international scope but [with] lower level participation and profile’ (p.468), whilst ‘third order’ events are regional or continental in scope (e.g. Asian Games, America’s Cup). The CWG coverage excludes important markets such as the US, mainland

Europe, Japan and China, thus circumscribing its potential economic traction (Gratton et al., 2005). That said, the CWG is 'no poor cousin' (Lockstone and Baum, 2008) insofar as its scope includes most continents and over 2.1 billion people, or 30% of the global population (Stell, 2012). Indeed, according to Black, there is evidence of heightened competition for these second order events, since this category includes both second-tier centres or smaller jurisdictions (e.g. Manchester, Glasgow) for whom such events are the most that can reasonably be aspired to, as well as emerging centres (Kuala Lumpur, Delhi) who, in simply 'warming up' on the global stage, have an eye on becoming future hosts of first order events. Indeed, Majumbar and Mehta (2010) claim that hosting the 2010 CWG was about Delhi 'playing up the potential to turn India into the next China' (p.4). Interestingly, Smith (2009) argues that there is some advantage in being in a 'lesser' sub-group, claiming that 'many smaller events are less commercialised, less sanitised and less publicised, whilst more accountable to local stakeholders and therefore they cannot be regarded as dubious spectacles in the way larger equivalents can' (p.118). This characterisation augurs well for the CWG, the relatively modest and so-called 'Friendly Games'.

### **2.2.1 The Allure of Sport**

In the previous sections, the definitional aspects of 'event' and 'mega' have been examined, but it is the third component, relating to 'sport', which is perhaps the most contested. It is widely accepted that the mega event format of sport has succeeded in eclipsing and supplanting alternative manifestations, such as major festivals, world exhibitions and trade fairs (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006, Waite, 2003), most notably the World Expo, described as 'the Olympics of the economy, science and technology' (Mol and Zhang, 2012 p.138). Although education and culture have become standard companion pieces in the staging of contemporary major games, sport constitutes the essential weapon within the organisers' armoury. Its advocates attest to sport's global reach and its cross-cultural popularity (Coakley, 1994, Giulianotti, 2005). In the words of the former IOC President, 'sport is, in essence, the only language understood by everyone' (Rogge, 2002 p.13). In addition, sport is judged by its supporters to have an unrivalled ability to inspire others through exemplars of participation, ambition, endurance, and striving towards excellence, acknowledged by Dixon and Gibbons (2014) as the 'cornerstones of the capitalist ideal of meritocracy' (p.7). Add to this intoxicating mix the fact that sport represents a 'lucrative site for the accumulation of capital' (Silk, 2011 p.736), and the allure of sport to event organisers is entirely comprehensible.

Yet, despite sport's longstanding ubiquity, the academy has been slow to acknowledge fully its sociological significance (Coakley and Dunning, 2000, Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006, Silk, 2011). The problem that Dunning and Elias, and a very few other pioneers, faced some decades ago was in persuading fellow sociologists to take sport seriously as a subject for sociological research. In the introduction to his aptly named book *Sport Matters*, Dunning (1999) refers to the 'sociological neglect of sport' (p.7), attributed by him to the propensity of mainstream sociology to consider sport as a somewhat trivial, non-productive dimension of society. Increased commercialisation of the sport and leisure 'industry', and its subsequent elevation into everyday social life, resulted in a rapid expansion of sport sociology from the 1970s onwards (Rojek, 1992) and its 'transformation into a terrain contested by protagonists of all the main sociological paradigms' (Dunning, 1999 p.13). The most defining theoretical contribution was that of 'figurational' or process sociology, initiated by Norbert Elias in the 1930s and applied to sport from the 1960s onwards in conjunction with Dunning, an endeavour by the scholars to introduce a more complex, relational and historical account of social processes and interdependencies from a sporting perspective (Dunning, 1999, Elias and Dunning, 1986).

Sport sociology tends to be most characterised in terms of the simplistic dichotomy between agency and structure, or between functionalist and conflict theories (Coakley, 1994, Giulianotti, 2005). The inherent tension between these two opposing paradigmatic stances is demonstrated thus: in somewhat poetic terms, Giulianotti (2005) speaks to sport's ability to bring people together: 'Like love, truth and art, sport is a kind of human medium that conjoins people' (p.xi). This stance is far removed from that of the French academic, Marc Perelman, who, as a self-proclaimed 'radical despiser' of sport, spares no punches in declaring a polemical war against sport in order to debunk its sacred aura. Challenging the hegemony of sport is not for the fainthearted however: Hall (2006) concedes that 'sport is extremely hard to argue against. The inherent belief that sport is good for you, makes for better citizens, creates pride in the community, and generates a positive image is hard to overcome' (p. 67).

The functionalist paradigm provides a theoretical framework for explaining the reverence enjoyed by sport in some quarters and which is unmistakably present in the official discourse enshrined within numerous international and national charters, policy statements, and urban bid documents. This worldview, which draws on the work of Durkheim, underscores sport's purported function in promoting social cohesion and solidarity (Grix and Carmichael, 2012), explaining to a large degree its predilection for collective displays of celebration. Examples

from the OG and CWG events include the pomp and circumstance of repetitive and ritualistic features such as the Opening and Closing ceremonies, the symbolic lighting of the Olympic Flame, the relay of messages across continents, and the highly charged passing of the torch to a future generation of young people.

Yet even sports enthusiasts such as Giulianotti (2005) question the extrinsic value bestowed upon sport in recent decades. Claiming that sport needs to be ‘put in its place’, he writes that ‘ultimately, sports sociologists should always appreciate that games do not feed, house or inoculate people; they do not reclaim polluted lands or terminate ethnic conflicts. Resolution of the world’s fundamental problems is not simply a matter for play’ (p.127). Similarly, Coakley (1994) critiques the exaggerated claims often made about the positive effects of sports. She singles out for particular criticism the implicit assumption that society is homogeneous and that sporting events grant benefits equitably to all social groups.

In contrast to functionalism, conflict theory focuses attention on how sport mirrors the unequal distribution of power and economic resources in capitalist societies, and how it serves to perpetuate these inequalities, with Dixon and Gibbons (2014) describing the OG as a ‘site of social reflection rather than a virtuous movement of unifying proportions hell-bent on the pursuit of social equality’ (p.7). According to Bourdieu (1984), sports preferences are similar to other lifestyle choices (food, clothing, music), which, in his view, are ‘organised according to the same fundamental structure, that of social space determined by volume and composition of capital’ (p.208). Regarding participation, surveys continue to highlight a social patterning in participation and sports club membership (Coalter, 2013, Sport England, 2015), while a recent schools report brought into sharp focus the overrepresentation of independent schools in elite sport (Ofsted, 2014).

From a societal perspective, a neo-Marxist interpretation of sports events assumes a conspiratorial stance in its depiction of them as collective opiates. Using the metaphor of ‘bread and circuses’, sporting spectacles are characterised as entertaining distractions from structural social problems (Harvey, 1996, Murphy and Bauman, 2007). Drawing on the work of Debord (1994), it is argued that the spectacle has indeed become ‘the main production of present-day society’ (p.16) and modern day society an ‘immense accumulation of spectacles’ (p.12). Smith (2009) includes in his overview of theoretical perspectives a more sinister representation of sport in its mega format, namely, as a means of social control of marginalised groups, such as the homeless and social tenants, through physical

displacement, whether directly through forced evictions, or indirectly through the loss of local affordable housing, the consequence of place gentrification.

### **2.2.2 Sport and Neo-liberalism**

Since the 1980s, the relationship between sport and the state has altered to the extent that cities and nations increasingly deploy sporting events as an integral part of an entrepreneurial strategy in order to orient themselves within a global competitive world (Hall, 2006, Hiller, 2006). In this sense, sport might be construed as an agent of the prevailing neo-liberal ideology, with its associated traits of leisure, consumption and individualisation (Cornelissen, 2010, Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006, Paton et al., 2012, Silk, 2011, Smith, 2009, Vanwynsberghe et al., 2012). The unquestioning belief in the competitive benefits of hosting large scale events has given rise to ‘booster coalitions’ between public bodies and private enterprises within a new form of urban politics (Boyle, 1997, Cochrane et al., 1996, Hall, 2006, Whitson and Horne, 2006). A shared desire for economic growth explains the evident enthusiasm with which these coalitions seize the opportunity to bid for mega events. In this regard, the pursuit of Games bids is judged by city leaders as one of the few remaining interventions still available to them in a global era of inter-urban competition (Black, 2008) and is indicative of a ‘changing polity where state, market, non-state and global actors are involved in social steering’ (Girginov, 2012 p.544). Neo-liberalism might thus be conceived as a force which has come to define what is valued within the public good (Bourdieu, 1998), an idea to be developed later in this chapter.

The desire to bid for major games also explains the willingness of political leaders and policymakers to suspend ‘business as usual’ in an apparent disregard for the usual principles of governance. This discontinuity is manifest in several respects. Firstly, previous games highlight the issue of reduced ‘democratisation’ (Crookston, 2004, Davis and Thornley, 2010, Essex and Chalkley, 1998, Smith and Fox, 2007). With the notable exception of Vancouver, which held a plebiscite on whether or not to proceed with its bid to host the 2010 Winter OG, the bidding decision is not in itself a democratic response to public opinion. Rather, the phase of bid preparation is usually clothed in secrecy and associated with incomplete or partisan evaluations of the social and economic implications (Wildsmith and Bradfield, 2007). Bidding cities are thus prone to advocacy rather than evidence when making their legacy claims. Hosting benefits are routinely overstated, amounting to nothing less than ‘positive gloss’ (Raco, 2004 p.40) and a ‘promiscuous assemblage of hope’ (Mangan, 2008 p.1869). Moreover, the immovable deadline for the staging of the event

brings into operation a compressed timeframe which legitimises the dominance of a 'top down' approach (Vigor et al., 2004). In their evaluation of the Manchester 2002 Games Legacy Programme, Smith and Fox (2007) highlighted the 'apparent incompatibility of short-lived events with long-term planning' and the presence of 'anti-democratic elements' (p.1130).

Secondly, regarding financial governance, bidding contracts usually stipulate that the public sector absorb the risks of staging the events with the obligatory guarantee to underwrite any financial shortfalls (Gratton et al., 2005). Given that any budgetary overruns are theoretically infinite, this commitment is tantamount to writing a blank cheque on behalf of the public purse. Accordingly, the burden of risk associated with this enterprise is borne ultimately not by event coalition partners - namely, corporate business or sport institutions like the IOC or CGF - but rather by the taxpayer (Smith, 2013). Finally, there is the issue of evidence-based policymaking, now considered by the Scottish Government (SG) to represent standard best practice, which, according to the following directive, should be adopted unequivocally by all sectors of public policymaking: 'increased public scrutiny and accountability has created a heightened awareness of the need for politicians and decision makers to have a range of evidence to support policy development and decision making in the public sector' (Scottish Government, 2005b). Notwithstanding an absence of supporting evidence (see 2.4), cities continue to bid for the 'privilege' of hosting flagship sporting events. That said, there may be indications of waning enthusiasm, with several cities (Rome, Stockholm, Graubünden, Krakow, Munich, Vienna) having recently withdrawn their plans to bid for the 2020 and 2022 OG, either due to absence of political support or plebiscite results (Preuss, 2015). Durban was the only contender remaining for the 2022 CWG after the withdrawal of Edmonton (BBC, 2015).

The competitive nature of the bidding process, specifically the need to present a united front during the bidding process, engenders a form of 'civic jingoism' (Hall, 2006 p.315), entailing considerable efforts to get the public behind the bid in order to achieve what Cashman (2002) refers to as 'manufactured consent'. In this regard, Hiller (2006) suggests that mega-events are best understood as 'public relations ventures far removed from the realities of urban problems' (p.440). Opinion polls are usually cited by bid proposers as proof of universal public support for a bid, and any potential opposition is dismissed (Waite, 2003). Glasgow 2014 bid supporters claimed unanimity of support, described as 'unprecedented', in its official documentation (CGF, 2005). This was due in no small part to its private-sector funded and highly visible 'We Back the Bid' campaign, which attracted 1.7 million pledges,



‘drawn from all sections of society’ (p.16). The upshot of this forced solidarity is that talking ‘against the grain’ of the event can be considered tantamount to treason (Armour et al., 2013, Horne, 2012, Weed, 2008). The veteran Guardian journalist, Simon Jenkins (2013), in a reference to the UK Government’s generation of ‘hysteria’ to validate what he perceived as reckless spending on London 2012, commented on the alarming way in which vitriol was ‘visited on those who dared question such priority by a government that had spent the entire year telling everyone to tighten belts’ (p.20). The editorial was aptly entitled ‘God help those who criticise the Olympics’.

However, the Canadian experience suggests that achieving consensus is not always straightforward. In his review, Kidd (1992) recounts the circumstances behind Toronto’s unsuccessful bid for the 1996 Olympic Games, which spawned one of the more prominent Games opposition groups, named ‘Bread not Circuses’. This coalition of Left and Green groups based their protest on the argument that public money risked being diverted from welfare budgets and necessities (‘bread’) towards sporting festivals (‘circuses’). There is limited empirical evidence about the representativeness of such groups, making it difficult to assess their overall social significance, although there are suggestions that these groups appear to draw from younger, more educated, and more affluent groups (Beaumont, 2013). Nevertheless, their presence suggests the existence of a dialectic between events and their host venues, with the latter becoming transformed into ‘disputed places’ (Dansero et al., 2012). Such resistance is not a rare occurrence, and, throughout the history of hosting large sporting events, there are numerous instances of local actors having been galvanised into opposition, with the confrontations in Brazilian cities a year ahead of the 2014 FIFA World Cup being only the most recent example (BBC, 2014a).

Interestingly, such protestation exposes the fundamental paradox or contradiction within neo-liberalist discourse, namely, that it has the ability to be simultaneously construed as both the ‘solution’ (within the well-rehearsed rhetoric of opportunity, choice and freedom enabled by a market-driven ideology) and the ‘problem’ (resulting from the concurrent risk of bestowing opportunities to those who are already privileged, therewith widening social inequalities even further). Thompson et al. (2013) argue that ‘spectacular sporting events can at once perpetuate a unifying rhetoric and, at the same time, highlight and exacerbate existing inequalities and unequal power relations’. In past games, local activist coalitions have channelled their efforts in a bid to secure some protection for low-income residents and other disadvantaged communities. For example, the public debate which enveloped the bidding process for the Toronto 1996 OG resulted in the development of the Toronto

Olympic Commitment (TOC) which, in Kidd's (1992) view, significantly transformed 'what began as the handmaiden of finance capital into a project of social democracy' (p.155). More recently, the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics bid committee incorporated a 'social inclusion' mandate (Vanwynsberghe et al., 2012) as part of its pre-plebiscite commitments, which entailed guarantees of nil displacement and specified social housing levels. These examples underscore the need for some form of mediation in order to mitigate the inherent risks of hosting mega events to the welfare of the socially disadvantaged. Young people as a social group might also be included in the latter, as neo-liberalism has been shown to affect this group disproportionately, giving rise to high levels of global youth unemployment and employment insecurity and the portrayal of their generation as the 'Desperate Generation' (Morrow 2012). Consequently, young people have a high probability of entering a new and growing dangerous class, the so-called 'precariat' (Bourdieu, 1998, Kennelly and Watt, 2011, Standing, 2011).

## **2.3 In Pursuit of Legacy**

The following section outlines how the legacy construct has moved from lofty idealistic ideals over a century ago to become the codified prerequisite it is today. Extensive reference will be made to the OG (and specifically to London 2012), which, as the flagship event in the genre, has had the greatest influence in providing the benchmark for standards and expectations around legacy (Roche, 2000, Smith, 2009, Stell, 2012).

### **2.3.1 Idealistic Origins**

Gold and Gold (2009) trace the genesis of legacy back to the French aristocrat and sportsman, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, who revived the modern OG in Athens in 1896. In their historical overview, Chalkley and Essex (1999) claim that this iteration embodied the Baron's liberal ideals of 'physical exercise as the basis of a balanced education, and organised sport as an agent of international unity and social equality' (p.372). It is a commonplace that de Coubertin was motivated by his belief in the intrinsic value of competitive sport, which was rooted in physical education, athleticism, and discipline. Central to this view was the channelling of young people's energies towards individual physical and moral development, this to the overall betterment of humanity. De Coubertin (cited in McFee, 2012) set out his stall thus:

'I shall burnish a flabby and cramped youth.[.]by sport, its risks and even its excesses. I shall enlarge its vision and its hearing by showing its wide

horizons...which, in engendering mutual respect, will bring about a ferment of international peace' (p.37).

However, de Coubertin was also a fierce patriot and seized upon sport as an antidote to what he perceived as an overly intellectualised, and by implication inadequately physical, French educational system. His view was that sport, as taught in English public schools since 1840 and federated by its students at the country's ancient universities, had been the engine driving Britain's imperial ascendancy and economic prosperity (Chalkley and Essex, 1999, Dixon and Gibbons, 2014). In 1890, during a visit to Britain, de Coubertin attended a sporting 'olympics' competition in rural Shropshire, an occasion reported to have inspired his idea of staging an international sporting competition.

The notion that the OG should serve as a medium for promoting international freedom, progress and equality still holds today, and explains de Coubertin's insistence, despite intense lobbying by the Greek government to use Athens as a permanent venue, that a peripatetic event would be the optimum vehicle to diffuse its core messages throughout the world. The so-called 'spirit' of sport remains enshrined within the Olympic Charter (IOC, 2011). In its most recent iteration, sport is reified as a basic human right and its practice placed 'at the service of the harmonious development of humankind' (p.10). Accordingly, 'olympism' is conceptualised in the following terms as:

'a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles' (p.10).

Young people remain central to the Coubertiniste mission with its stated aim of building a 'better world by educating young people through sport and promoting a spirit of friendship, solidarity, and fair play' (IOC, 2010b). In this regard, Allison (2012) asks whether the essential spirit of sport, as articulated within the Charter, might be no more than an 'empty ideological shell' (p.31) but leaves the question unanswered. Perelman (2012), rising to the occasion, provides a predictably caustic response with his portrayal of the Charter as a 'formidable ideological mechanism used not only to conceal but to fabricate lies, mystifications, untruths and illusions whose component elements are woven into the text itself' (p.20).

The CWG movement owes its origins to the values and principles inherent within olympism. There is scant documentation available, but one historical account (Humberstone, 1973) tells

the story of a Reverend Ashley Cooper who, in a letter to *The Times* in 1891, urged that the nations of the British Empire should come together in a sporting festival. A ‘poorly organised’ Festival of Empire Games was held in 1911 as part of the George V Coronation celebrations. However, it was not until 1930 that the first ‘official’ British Empire Games took place at Hamilton, Ontario. The Canadian hosts explicitly based the event on the ‘Olympic Model’, both in general format and in its strict definition of the amateur. But, as the story is recounted in Bateman and Douglas (1986), the organisers were informed that the CWG should be ‘merrier and less stern, and (should) substitute the stimulus of a novel adventure for the pressure of international rivalry’ (p.10). The CGF affirms three core principles of ‘Humanity, Equality and Destiny’ (CGF, 2014) within an overarching vision to promote a ‘unique, friendly, world-class Commonwealth games and develop sport for the benefit of the people, the nations and territories of the Commonwealth and thereby strengthen the Commonwealth’ (p.4). Sixteen core values and principles were enshrined by the signing of the first ever Commonwealth Charter on 11 March 2013 by Queen Elizabeth II as Head of the Commonwealth. Two of these are especially relevant to this study, namely a commitment to sustainable development, defined in the document as economic and social transformation in order to eliminate poverty and promote social equity; and a recognition of the importance of young people to the future success of the Commonwealth. Regarding the latter, an excerpt from the Charter is presented in full below to highlight the juxtaposition of the desired goal and the proposed means of achieving it:

‘We recognise the positive and active role and contributions of young people in promoting development, peace, democracy and in protecting and promoting other Commonwealth values, such as tolerance and understanding, including respect for other cultures. The future success of the Commonwealth rests with the continued commitment and contributions of young people in promoting and sustaining the Commonwealth and its values and principles, and we commit to investing in and promoting their development, particularly through the creation of opportunities for youth employment and entrepreneurship’ (CGF, 2013 p.6).

Accordingly, the pathway to a better future for young people is portrayed within neo-liberal terms of reference, therewith suggesting that human wellbeing is best achieved by creating market-driven employment opportunities and advancing individual entrepreneurial freedom.

### **2.3.2 Evolution of Legacy**

Although legacy has come to dominate the current debate about the consequences of staging sporting events, the relative lack of interest in its evolution has been noted as a critical omission by the academy (Leopkey and Parent, 2012b). Whilst the authors uncovered the

first explicit use of the term in the Melbourne bid documentation for the 1956 OG, the underlying notion of benefits in hosting flagship sporting events stretches back to the very beginning of the modern games. Some scholars have made recent endeavours to sketch an historical trajectory of legacy, basing their accounts on official documentation and contemporaneous writings. However, the scope of these is delineated by different and specific foci of interest: thus, Gold and Gold (2009) outline legacy changes over time with reference to sporting legacy; Chalkley and Essex (1999) concentrate on the effects of the Olympics on the urban built environment; while Preuss (2004) is most interested in whether or not an economic legacy has been achieved. The work of Leopkey and Parent (2012b) represents an important contribution in this area, as they are the first scholars to adopt a broader perspective; however, their analysis is limited by the self-report nature of their source material, namely bid and final report documentation, resulting in an accenting of the positive, and a leaning towards recent events from the late 1980s onwards. Interestingly, their content analysis of official papers reveals an expansion of ambitions over time, with their tally showing thirteen overlapping legacy themes. This burgeoning of interest would seem to indicate that, when it comes to legacy, no thematic stone is being left unturned.

The timeline below, developed by the researcher, identifies four distinct phases across multiple legacy domains. Several points need to be highlighted however. First, the shifts in emphasis shown below do not signify a substitution but rather denote a cumulative effect as the Olympic ‘rolling stone’ gathers additional components in its progress over time. Second, this timeline conveys generalisations and therefore does not account for known individual deviations from the patterns and trends identified. Finally, the OG provides the primary guide in this respect, reflecting its stature and unrivalled attention within the literature. The trajectory of CWG legacy has failed to capture the same level of academic interest (Kemlo and Owe, 2014), with the notable exception of Majumbar and Mehta (2010), whose main interest resides in the shifting political significance of the CWG and its role in challenging or sustaining imperial or post-imperial Commonwealth connections.

### **2.3.2.1 Phase 1: From modest beginnings to the 1960s: sports legacy**

Early events focused on establishing a sports-related legacy. The first three OGs were staged in existing sports facilities - for example, the swimming events for the Paris OG in 1900 were staged in the River Seine (Chalkley and Essex, 1999), a scenario unthinkable in modern times. Subsequent games involved new additional permanent sporting facilities expressly constructed for the OG, including the White City Stadium for the 1908 London Games. In

addition to a tangible sport-related legacy, this period also witnessed the development of a sports administration, intended in its design to encourage spectatorship and participation (Gold and Gold, 2009). Economic impacts were given scant attention, either because they were not documented or not intended, or simply because their small scale meant that any potential economic benefit would be insubstantial (Preuss, 2004).

#### ***2.3.2.2 Phase 2: 1960-1980: addition of non-sporting infrastructure***

The OGs in Rome (1960) and Tokyo (1964) marked a new departure in two main respects. On the one hand, this was the first time that major non-sporting improvements had been prompted by the staging of a major sport event, establishing an event's potential as an instrument of urban transformation. Improvements, considered necessary to meet the demands of foreign competitors and spectators during the event, included new transport infrastructure, new water supply systems, improved street lighting and, in the case of Tokyo, new toilet facilities. By the end of this phase, flagship sporting events had become a core feature of urban, regional and national development strategies. These events also raised the bar in terms of costs, to the extent that the 'gigantism' of the Rome Games was said to have elicited calls for the cancellation of subsequent Games (Gold and Gold, 2009). Indeed, escalating cost overruns suffered by Montreal in 1976, together with the ensuing debt burden for years to come, were a stark reminder of the negative financial risks associated with hosting major games events. However, towards the end of this period, the advent of sales of broadcasting rights and sponsorship provided the prospect of new financing sources to offset the rapidly increasing scale and cost of major sports events. Local opposition to the hosting made an entry on at least two notable occasions during this period, with protests in Mexico and Montreal in 1968 and 1976 respectively (Essex and Chalkley, 1998).

#### ***2.3.2.3 Phase 3: 1980-2000: marketing of 'place' and the growth of inter-urban competition***

Increased globalisation within a new competitive era of transnational mobile capital ushered in the imperative to attract inward investment to large urban centres. Even the pursuit of high-profile sports events was construed as a performance indicator in itself and a demonstration of a city's acquired status as being amongst the ranks of an international network of 'players' (Hall, 2006, Majumbar and Mehta, 2010). With global recognition achieved, cities also deployed sporting events as a narrative platform from which to 'rebrand' and therewith distinguish themselves from amongst the pack. This phase marked a pivotal period in which the pendulum swung in the direction of non-sporting components,

prompting Chalkley and Essex (1999) to argue that the ‘scale of investment required for the [Olympic] Games has become so great that it might be argued that the concept of sport as a means of spiritual renewal has given way to sport as a means of urban renewal’ (p.202). A vital ingredient within the image-making process was urban regeneration. Gold and Gold (2009) cite Barcelona 1992, specifically the redevelopment of its rundown port, as the best example of utilising a sporting event as a catalyst for the transformation of urban areas requiring refurbishment. Similarly, Sydney used the hosting of the 2000 Olympics to rehabilitate the toxic wasteland of Homebush Bay. With the latter, the Olympic brand was extended further to embrace sustainable development, resulting in its acquisition of ‘green’ credentials (Vigor et al., 2004).

During this phase, the increasingly large financial burden placed on host cities resulted in the need for cost-benefit analyses to be undertaken in order to investigate the economic impacts and to justify them politically (Preuss, 2004). In practice, a veil of secrecy was often thrown over the detail of these analyses, compiled by those with a vested interest in staging the event (Wildsmith and Bradfield, 2007). To compound the problem, there was no expert consensus over the most appropriate methodology for completing financial scorecards, a topic which remains vehemently contested even today. Following the commercial success of the 1984 Los Angeles Games, which delivered a surplus of £250 million (Majumbar and Mehta, 2010), this phase saw the incorporation of ‘big business’ and the creation of revenue streams from the sale of broadcasting and sponsorship rights. The start of the new millennium also witnessed an attempt by the IOC to deal with concerns about the levels of expenditure needed to stage mega-events and to counter accusations of gigantism, as evidenced by its capping of the numbers of sports which could be included within the games event and its shifting of attention to sustainability issues, not least, the lasting social impact on the quality of life of host cities and their citizens.

#### **2.3.2.4 Phase 4: 2000 to present: Institutionalisation of Legacy**

It is widely accepted that the 2002 Manchester CWG was the first to plan a long-term social legacy in conjunction with a sporting event (Smith and Fox, 2007). Nevertheless, the legacy programme in this instance was constructed as an adjunct to the main sporting event and was not an integral component of the bid. Since that time, legacy has migrated towards centre stage to capture the spotlight, becoming the defining ingredient of any bidding process, as evidenced in the candidature files of Vancouver 2010, London 2012, Glasgow 2014, and Gold Coast 2018. In these recent bids, the concept of legacy is writ large to the extent that

the OECD (2010) claims that legacy has become a ‘key justification for the event itself, for the investment and the effort made’ (p.16).

Proof that legacy as a subject-matter had reached a ‘tipping point’ came in November 2002 with the decision to hold a Legacy Symposium, under the auspices of the IOC Olympic Studies Centre, at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. That same year, the Olympic Charter was revised to include for the first time the expectation that a sporting event should bequeath a positive and sustainable legacy for host cities. Iterations of the Charter since have served to codify legacy and establish its status as a fundamental commitment of the Olympic Movement (IOC, 2011). The technical requirement detailing what candidate cities must submit as part of their bid to host the OG now comprises nine sections (Agha et al., 2012), but it is the first section, entitled *Concept and Legacy* requiring candidate cities to formulate their legacy aspirations, which suggests the imposition of legacy as a ‘deal breaker’. The CWG process explicitly models itself on the IOC candidature procedure and similarly foregrounds legacy within the technical requirements of hosting bids. Recently, legacy has reached a new and significant evolutionary milestone with its acquisition of ‘symbolic capital’ (Bourdieu, 1986) in the form of a discrete brand identity. To illustrate this point, eligible projects across Scotland were invited to apply to use the Legacy 2014 brand (Figure 2.1) on their project materials as a mark of distinction.



**Figure 2.1** Glasgow 2014 Brand Identity (source: Scottish Government)

The first tentative step towards accountability for legacy was taken with the introduction by the IOC of the Olympic Games Global Impact (OGGI<sup>1</sup>) Project in 2002. Arising from a desire to capture impacts consistently from one Games to the next (IOC, 2010a), host cities are henceforth required to provide data on a set of indicators, categorised according to the ‘triple bottom line’ of economic, environmental and socio-cultural outcomes. As far as the latter are concerned, the indicator list includes items which might be expected from hosting a major sporting event (available sports facilities, sports and physical activities, school

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<sup>1</sup> OGGI was renamed OGI (Olympic Global Impact) in 2007 by the IOC.



sports). However, the scope of Olympic ambitions is reflected in other wide-ranging indicators such as crime rates, poverty/social exclusion and education levels (UEL, 2010). Host cities are not obliged to use all the given indicators but are permitted to select those considered most relevant to their particular circumstances. Data are requested for different spatial levels, including municipal as well as national. Moreover, a sequence of reports is specified within a 12-year timeframe, with the final one falling due three years post-event. Vancouver 2010 and London 2012 were the first Winter/Summer OGs to be mandated to comply with these requirements.

Nevertheless, the academic literature remains largely sceptical. Many commentators (Gold and Gold, 2009, Mangan, 2008, Vigor et al., 2004) attribute the rapid ascendancy of legacy to a heightened IOC concern about the trajectory of the Olympic Games, specifically the growing procession of 'limping white elephants' (Mangan, 2008) and the need to justify the large expenditures involved. They claim that the longevity of the Olympic institution itself is at stake, a situation which obliges the IOC to persuade cities to continue bidding for future Games. Although the OGI has been broadly welcomed as a step in the right direction, scholars have levelled several serious criticisms against it. The first concerns the timeframe for impact evaluation, which is deemed inadequate and likely to produce only partial or inaccurate legacy assessments (Cashman, 2006, Crookston, 2004, Mangan, 2008). A second concern is that, although the dimensions are comprehensive, the associated indicators privilege those which are tangible and measureable and favour the use of routinely available statistical data rather than specially commissioned studies. Finally, the OGI evaluation precludes the capture of any unintended or adverse consequences which might arise (Agha et al., 2012, Smith, 2009).

Indeed, there are indications of an emerging pattern of opportunistic and adaptive behaviour on the part of the non-elected and autonomous IOC in order to deflect criticism of its activities and ensure its survival (Hiller and Wanner, 2011, Roche, 2006b, Tomlinson, 2014). Jacques Rogge, the then IOC President, adds ballast to this view with his opening remarks to the Legacy Symposium of that year: 'the Olympic Movement has survived many crises in its 108 years of history. Its unique strength lies in its capacity to prepare for the future and adapt to globalisation and a constantly changing world' (Rogge, 2002 p.13). Indeed, the organisation has long exhibited an aptitude in identifying and appropriating topical bandwagons so that it might position itself as the ultimate global custodian. Examples include: the turnaround championing of environmental issues, now codified as a 'third pillar of olympism', in response to the damage incurred during the Albertville Winter Games

(Cantelon and Letters, 2000); and the stipulation of sustainable development in response to increasingly strident accusations of excess and waste (Mangan, 2008). Moreover, the recent emphasis on improved social outcomes for young people (the UNICEF partnership to achieve child and youth development since 1993; the introduction of the Youth Olympic Games in 2010) might also be interpreted in this light, coming at a time when youth concerns have become more pressing. Indeed, some commentators attribute the unexpected win for London against the other cities in the final round (Paris, Madrid, New York, and Moscow) to the headlining of young people in London's candidature submission and presentation: 'the genius of the London storytelling was barely to mention London at all, except as an inspiration to the young' (Esler, 2012 p.125).

### 2.3.3 Towards a Definition of Legacy

Despite legacy becoming the critical part of a bid candidature, a precise and consistent definition remains elusive (Agha et al., 2012, Gold and Gold, 2009, Leopkey and Parent, 2012a, Matheson, 2010, Preuss, 2007). Cashman (2006) observed that 'legacy is often assumed to be self-evident, so that there is no need to define precisely what it is' (p.15). Remarkably, the IOC Symposium, convened in 2002 to discuss legacy specifically, made no attempt to pin the term down, arguing instead that legacy is essentially a fluid concept, the result of a unique convergence of social and spatial contingencies:

'The Symposium has recognised the importance of the concept of legacy in the organization and in the final evaluation of the Olympic Games, but when attempting to define legacy, we have found that there are several meanings of the concept..(..). In general, the Olympic legacy referred to at the Symposium is multidisciplinary and dynamic - changing over time - and is affected by a variety of local and global factors. Therefore, whilst being difficult to define, it is a local and global concept, existing within cities, regions and nations, as well as internationally' (Centre for Olympic Studies, 2002 p.1).

However, there are several problems associated with such conceptual ambiguity. First, the absence of theoretical integrity and coherence means that in effect the concept is akin to a depository or, in the words of Gold and Gold (2009), a 'convenient *omnium gatherum*' (p.182), into which diverse legacy goods can be thrown arbitrarily by way of strategic justification for hosting mega events. The second issue is that no valid attempt can be made to measure legacy or evaluate its success until the conceptual groundwork has been prepared and agreed (Cashman, 2003). Finally, an ontological perspective requires that the concept is interrogated in order to reveal the social reality it represents. This dictate heeds Bourdieu's warning to researchers to 'beware of words', especially those which hide their social

construction behind assumed meanings in order to further vested interests. Not surprisingly, linguistic complexities were revealed at the 2002 IOC Legacy Symposium with some academics (Hiller 2002) arguing in favour of substituting the word legacy for more neutral and precise terms such as ‘outcome’ or ‘impact’; whilst others advocated its retention because of its current dominance within Olympic discourse.

Despite IOC reluctance to define this ‘slippery term’ (Vigor et al., 2004 p.8), the search in the academic literature for an unambiguous understanding of legacy continues unabated. Several critics have sought inspiration by returning to the etymological or literal definition of legacy (Agha et al., 2012, Gold and Gold, 2009, Leopkey and Parent, 2012b, Mangan, 2008, Preuss, 2007). The Oxford English Dictionary (2011), for example, defines legacy as ‘something handed down by a predecessor’ (p.813). The inference within this statement is that legacy is something *tangible* which can be bestowed from one generation to the next; that it is the *property* of someone who has the authority to bestow a legacy; and that it can be left ‘*by will*’. Despite found wanting on several counts, this line of inquiry does nevertheless raise some fundamental questions with regard to legacy, such as: what should be included within legacy, and what should not; who ‘controls’ legacy; is legacy always intentional, or might unforeseen consequences arise; should legacy be construed retrospectively without any regard for its future planning; and, not least, who might be considered the primary legatees or beneficiaries? With the latter point in mind, and once again drawing on its etymological origins, should legacy be judged primarily in the light of outcomes pertaining to the future generation of young people, a group considered by the general public as a legacy ‘priority’ (DCMS, 2007)?

A useful first step in the analysis of legacy is to disaggregate the concept into its different types. Several academics have veered towards a ‘catch-all’ categorisation or typology of different legacy domains. Cashman (2003) proposed six overlapping fields: economic legacy; legacy of the built and physical environment; information and education legacy; legacy of public life, politics and culture; legacy of sport; and legacy of symbols, memory and history; while Chappelet (cited in Preuss, 2007) classified legacy into the five different types (sporting, social, environmental, urban, and economic), a categorisation adopted wholesale by the IOC in their first ever Olympic guidance on legacy (IOC, 2012). In a similar vein, Preuss (2007) identified six ‘event-structures’, namely infrastructure, knowledge, image, emotions, networks, and culture. More recently, Chappelet (2012) argues that proposing further legacy typologies is a ‘futile exercise’ (p.78) on the basis that, given the conceptual elasticity of the term, the segmentation process could continue *ad infinitum*.

Notwithstanding this observation, there are two major shortcomings with a classification approach. Firstly, it provides a one-dimensional view of legacy and is therefore unable to capture adequately the complexities, uncertainties, and tensions associated with legacy generation. Secondly, it implies that all legacy outcomes hold equal value. As will be shown later, economic impacts have received by far the most attention, while social impacts have had much less attention in the literature (Kemlo and Owe, 2014, Kornblatt, 2006, McCartney, 2010, Smith, 2009).

A reading of the literature reveals six legacy dimensions worthy of note. The first distinction commonly made (Chappelet 2012) is between outcomes which are ‘hard’ (tangible, subject to measurement) and those which are ‘soft’ (intangible, less measurable). Some scholars (Cashman, 2003, Kornblatt, 2006) oppose the use of the qualitative descriptors, hard and soft, because of the implicit connotation of superiority of the former over the latter. Indeed, the privileging of the measurable is evident both in the selection of indicators within the OGI Project (IOC, 2009) and in the bid documentation analysed by Leopkey and Parent (2012b), this despite the IOC’s protestations of their equal significance (IOC, 2012). Secondly, legacies can be intended (e.g. the construction of sporting venues) or unintended (e.g. security incidents; budget overruns; greater social inequity). Thirdly, experience from past games suggests that a legacy can be positive or negative, depending on the perspective of the assessor (Dixon and Gibbons, 2014, Hiller and Wanner, 2011, Preuss, 2015, Silk, 2011). For example, new transport infrastructure might result in greater congestion for local residents whilst simultaneously improving the overall traffic flow for city planners and business (Mangan, 2008, Preuss, 2007). Fourthly, a distinction can be made between territorial and personal legacies (Chappelet 2012) insofar as there are legacies which accrue to the host territory and remain there (e.g. image; reputation); and others (e.g. skills development through volunteering) which belong to individuals who take these gains with them on leaving the said territory.

Fifthly, there are temporal dimensions which serve to augment the complexity of legacy (Preuss, 2007, Preuss, 2015). Legacy includes effects which are indeterminate or vary in their duration; some being long e.g. infrastructure, while others are more transitory e.g. cultural events. This aspect was highlighted by the IOC (2012): ‘some benefits can be experienced well before the Games even take place, while others may not be seen until years after the Games have ended’ (p.9). Preuss (2015) introduces the notion of a legacy which remains latent until such time as an opportunity arises to activate it. By way of example, he cites the knowledge that city leaders acquire in bidding and preparing for a mega event,

which has value only if the same city bids for another mega event. The activation process is thereby conceptualised as a shift from ‘value in exchange’ to ‘value in use’ (p.2).

Cashman (2002) identifies four distinctive temporal phases associated with legacy. Whilst bidding for the event is characterised by hyperbole and over-claiming of legacy benefits, the event preparation or ‘pregnancy’ phase (Preuss, 2015, Weed et al., 2015) entails some curtailment of legacy claims due to the reality of operational challenges. New actors are introduced during this phase, as the bid committee hands over responsibility for the staging of the event to a local Organising Committee (OC), an independent limited company. Ultimately, the latter has no vested interest in legacy, as evidenced by its early dissolution soon after the event (Agha et al. 2012). Staging the event represents the culmination of planning efforts and is intrinsically inclined towards short-term, ‘feel-good’ celebration, as evidenced in the case of London 2012 (Greenslade 2012). Finally, the post-Games stage requires careful stewardship and continuity of vision. The evaluation of the adjunctive Manchester 2002 Legacy Programme testified to policy and institutional drift post-Games (Smith and Fox, 2007). In the case of London 2012, legacy governance arrangements had been strategically planned from the bidding stage. These have been criticised however for being unduly complex and fragmented (Girginov, 2012), involving a ‘constantly evolving “alphabet soup” of agencies, QUANGOS, boards, partnerships, forums and units’ (Smith, 2013 p.1935) intended to develop different aspects of legacy. Examples include the Olympic Delivery Authority charged with the delivery of the infrastructural legacy and the Legacy Trust, which continued to fund sporting and cultural activities post-2012, albeit at a much reduced scale.

Finally, a critical examination of the spatial dimension of legacy is required. Preuss (2007) claims that the city centre of the host city often stands to benefit more from image and re-urbanisation than other locations in the city or country; whilst Smith (2013), in a study of governance and planning arrangements in the twelve years leading up to London 2012, found a privileging of city-wide and national stakeholders over local community interests because of the tight deadlines involved. Although Kornblatt (2006) claimed that most jobs created as a result of London 2012 would most probably be taken up by those living outside the host boroughs, she was adamant that this should not deter local training and employment strategies from maintaining a steady focus on longer term opportunities within East London itself.

For the purpose of this study, the definition of legacy proposed by Chappelet (2012) - ‘all that remains and may be considered as consequences of the event in its environment’ (p.77) - is considered most useful. However, it is worth adding to this the proviso of intention suggested by Smith (2013) to convey the fact that legacy is also ‘something that is *purposefully* delivered’ (p.1921). Having settled on a satisfactory definition of legacy, the next logical step is to examine the literature to gauge the reality of achieving a positive legacy from hosting sporting mega events and to explore the potentiality for unintended or negative consequences.

## **2.4 Beyond Legacy Rhetoric**

As legacy has gained currency in policy circles, so too has it captured the attention of academic writers interested in establishing whether or not there exists an evidence base for the range of claims made on its behalf. Objectivity is paramount. Horne (2007) urges his fellow academics to examine critically the assumptions, beliefs and misrepresentations about sports mega-events. This call to action accords with that of Weed (2008) who warns the academic community that it must be vigilant ‘not to lay itself open to accusations of an “indefensible” academic crime, that of knowingly participating in political expediency’ (p.85). In sum, the imperative is to distinguish between the rhetoric and the reality of legacy (Tomlinson, 2014) .

### **2.4.1 The Case for Legacy**

Using a common sporting phrase, the legacy literature might be constructed as a ‘game of two halves’ in that a distinction needs to be made between the evidence relating to mega events which did not set out to achieve legacy in any deliberate sense; and evidence from events which deployed legacy as their prime justification. On this basis, London 2012 represents an important watershed as it was amongst the first batch of mega sporting events required to situate legacy right at the heart of their hosting bids.

#### **2.4.1.1 Before London 2012**

Two systematic reviews of the extant literature (McCartney, 2010, Weed et al., 2009) were prompted by successful bids to host London 2012 and Glasgow 2014 respectively. The two reviews are distinctive but complementary in terms of their scope and objectives. A strength of the review undertaken by McCartney is the extensive range of outcomes assessed by the review panel. Although their primary interest was in public health effects, they interpreted

health broadly to incorporate known determinants such as: access to services and transport; environment; crime; housing; demography; and cultural and economic outcomes. By contrast, Weed et al. (2009) channelled their attention more narrowly on legacy benefits relating to health-enhancing sport and physical activity. While both studies examined outcomes from previous events retrospectively, a particular merit of Weed et al. (2009)'s work was the identification of processes which might be deployed as future 'leveraging' opportunities (see 2.4.3).

Both reviews dispelled unequivocally the 'illusion' of a substantial body of literature. McCartney et al. (2010b) screened an initial 16,048 references, but found only 255 relevant for subsequent critical appraisal. Upon further scrutiny, only 54 of these studies, including almost half from the grey literature, met the review criteria. Similarly, while Weed et al. (2009) initially found 1,778 sources, only 53 of these studies made the final selection, this despite a decision to 'lower the bar' in terms of quality appraisal criteria. Furthermore, the reviewers found that those studies which made the final analysis were characterised by low transparency of methods and high risk of bias towards positive or neutral legacy outcomes. Much of the literature focused on single legacies from events, or at best only one or two, with the most frequently reported outcomes being economic ones, primarily economic growth and employment (see 2.4.2). The reviewers also found that many studies in this latter category showed a predilection for *ex-ante* assessments, utilising estimated data in their models, usually in favour of the event hosting. Studies of actual impact assessments were notably absent. The following excerpt from McCartney et al. (2010b) testified to the scarcity of empirical research in support of legacy claims:

'the available evidence does not refute expectations of a legacy, positive or negative, but it does establish that very little is known about the impacts of previous large multi-sport events and, therefore, the possible impacts of future events. This contrasts with official documentation used recently to promote such events' (p.6).

The implication is that the pursuit of legacy constitutes a veritable leap of faith into uncharted waters. Accordingly, the official legacy plans for London 2012 and Glasgow 2014 (DCMS, 2008, Glasgow City Council, 2009, Scottish Government, 2009) should be acknowledged for what they are, untried and untested, rather than evidence-based.

### **2.4.1.2 After London 2012**

Since these two reviews, a significant volume of academic and policy literature on London 2012 has been published. However, at the time of writing, findings were found to be heavily weighted towards grey sources with the academic literature awaiting publication. The problem is that the former tend to be overly positive, with official reports found to be punctuated throughout with inspirational anecdotes about transformational impact. Rather than providing objective research, these public documents appear to be utilised by event supporters as retrospective marketing tools. Speaking of impact assessments, Chalip (2014) claims that ‘investment in events is ultimately a political one, the impact numbers are ultimately political numbers. Unless they are rendered from research by an independent source, they are merely political assertions; they are not trustworthy evidence’ (p.3). The post-Games evaluation reports from the Legacy Trust UK (2013) and the DCMS (2013) are illustrative of this tendency. The former report provides research highlights only, which are conveyed in a rhetorical style rather than that of an independent and objective assessment. Moreover, readers of the document are invited to access a copy of the full report, but, two years on from publication date, the web link and contact telephone number of Legacy Trust UK are no longer available. Similarly, although acknowledging the ten-year legacy timeframe in its introduction, the twelve chapter headings in the DCMS meta-evaluation (Report 5) amount to unqualified legacy statements such as ‘The Games inspired a generation of children and young people’; ‘More of us are participating in sport because of the Games’; and ‘Communities across the UK engaged with the Games’. McGuinness (2014) critically appraises several of these bold claims and concludes that mega sporting events such as London 2012 ‘do not always benefit individuals and groups within host nations in the same way or to the same extent’ (p.77). It seems that, as with competitive sport, legacy results in winners as well as losers (Thompson et al., 2013).

### **2.4.2 The ‘Missing’ Social Dimension**

It is important to understand who might be the main beneficiaries from hosting a major sports event. Paton et al. (2012) maintain that, on the basis that ‘mega sporting events are big business’ (p.1485), the interests of global and corporate elites will necessarily trump those of local people. Accordingly, direct benefits are likely to be concentrated among those who are already relatively advantaged, namely, politicians, property developers, construction companies, suppliers, media agencies, security firms, who are themselves part of the booster coalitions seeking to bring the hosting opportunity to their city (Hall, 2006). Horne (2007)



claims that increased social polarisation represents one of the invidious ‘unknown knowns’ of mega events.

Indeed, there is theoretical and empirical evidence for mega events inflicting social harm, in short, making a bad situation worse for those already disadvantaged or marginalised within local communities (Cashman, 2006, Davis and Thornley, 2010, Lenskyj, 2002, Smith, 2009). Negative social consequences can take different forms. The first assumes the guise of ‘Potemkin villages’, a phrase typically used in economics and politics to describe a situation which appears better than it really is. Accordingly, critics have cited examples from past host cities (Seoul OG 1988, Beijing OG 2006, Delhi CWG 2014), which have witnessed significant levels of advance displacement and demolition, driven by image improvement or so-called ‘beautification’ in preparation for global media coverage. Majumbar and Mehta (2010) reported that Delhi readied itself for the global spotlight by erecting bamboo poles from the jungles of Northern India to avert the gaze of visiting dignitaries and the cameras from the most impoverished slums. In this instance, the authors claim that the CWG unleashed a form of ‘internal colonisation [...] led by the urban rich where displacement and dispossession continue to be justified in the name of development and progress’ (p.82).

Gentrification produces the same displacement effect, albeit indirectly. While city leaders might view increased land and property values as measures of success within the regeneration of a previously deprived area (interestingly, Kavetsos (2012) estimated that properties in the London 2012 host boroughs benefitted from a sales premium of between 2.1 and 3.3 per cent), local residents in previous hosting situations have experienced the loss of affordable residential space (Davis and Thornley, 2010, Kennelly and Watt, 2011). Displacement might also take on a more intangible form in the sense that residents might be vulnerable to an erosion or loss of place attachment, due to the creation of ‘islands of development...[.] that barely connect to the localities in which they are situated’ (Raco, 2004 p.34). In a similar vein, Smith (2009) warns of the hypothetical risk that ‘local people may struggle to find meaning, a sense of identity and a sense of connectedness in their own neighbourhoods as spaces are transformed by major events’ (p.117).

Finally, empirical studies provide examples of resources being diverted from local amenities or grassroots sports projects because of the overriding need to fund the main games event itself (Coalter, 2004, Murphy and Bauman, 2007). The risk of budgetary diversion might even continue post-event, either due to the need to fund the maintenance of expensive ‘white

elephants' (Mangan, 2008) or to service an ongoing debt burden - in the extreme case of Montreal 1976, for a further thirty years.

While much of the literature is concerned with social equity, relatively little attention has been given to whether competing notions of the public good are inevitable, and to what extent, and in what form, they might be reconciled. The case study of the 2010 Vancouver Winter OG presented by Vanwynsberghe et al. (2012) provides a useful 'insider' account of the iterative attempts to maximise local social inclusion within a broader neo-liberal context. The authors use the example of a specific legacy programme, *Opportunities with Business*, to illustrate the emergence of so-called 'benevolent neo-liberalism' (p.13). This case study is testimony to the way in which neo-liberalism has come to define the public good according to its own ideological terms of reference and is the most recent evidence available of social inclusion in the making. In this example, a collection of wide-ranging social commitments, comprising 37 promises across 14 categories, was secured in advance by the 'Impact of the Olympics on Communities Coalition' (IOCC) in order to secure some level of protection for low-income inner-city residents and other disadvantaged communities. In their longitudinal observational study, the authors of the case study noted a 'classic' games trajectory, experienced by them as 'organisers promising whatever public-private synergies are required to win the bid, and then redefining public-private realms as the deadlines approach' (p.9). Interestingly, Vanwynsberghe et al. (2012) observed the side-lining by the OC of a significant proportion of previously agreed social commitments, while others, such as employment and training, were drawn willingly from the hat. In effect, the optimum means of social inclusion came to be defined as the 'creation of productive citizens' (p.14). This stance echoes the 'social integrationist discourse', or SID, with its central focus on paid work, which Levitas (1998) identified within UK policy on social inclusion. What is particularly startling in Vancouver's case is that the preferred notions of public good and citizenship were being determined by powers which were neither democratically elected, nor held accountable to public stakeholders.

### **2.4.3 Lessons for the Future**

The IOC legacy document articulates its social legacy ideals with reference to three foundational concepts: 'place in the world'; 'excellence, friendship and respect'; and 'inclusion and cooperation' and supports these with exemplars from past OGs. However, a sociological perspective requires that the rhetoric of such homogeneous ideals is contrasted with heterogeneous realities. Hiller and Wanner (2011), in discussing their survey design,

argued that host city residents should not be lumped together as ‘homogenous captives’, noting the wide range of responses that reflect personal opinion, tastes, priorities, social position, and worldview. Supporting the authors’ views, this study attempts to step behind the rhetoric associated with Glasgow 2014 to reveal the multiple and diverse lived experiences of young people living in host neighbourhoods. For such an endeavour, Misener and Mason (2006) claim that it is necessary to ‘move beyond the macro-level critiques of civic developments and understand the micro-level functions that facilitate social change’ (p.52). Using an apt sporting metaphor, Bourdieu (cited in Grenfell, 2008) reminds would-be researchers to be careful ‘not to mistake the view of the game from the grandstand for the view of participants on the ground (p.54).

Notwithstanding the lack of supporting evidence and prevailing scepticism, most academic commentators refer to the theoretical potential of a mega event to deliver a legacy. Several have put forward recommendations considered by them most likely to offer the best prospect for success. The main lesson to be drawn from previous events is that legacy cannot be expected to occur automatically but rather it should be viewed as a ‘prospective concept’ (Girginov, 2012), requiring advance planning, resourcing and political commitment (Smith, 2009, Weed et al., 2009). The literature suggests that, of the four phases identified within legacy formation, it is the preparation or ‘pregnancy’ period which represents the most critical time. In sum, it is not the event itself, but the anticipation of the event which provides the main stimulus for legacy. Moreover, legacies should be embedded within existing policies and programmes rather than being supplementary ‘stand-alone’ entities. Despite introducing difficulties for assessing legacy, this offsets to some degree the inherent tension between a short term event and long term goals. Thus conceived, the staging of a sporting event exerts a catalytic effect and does not require any overall change in policy direction. The Leader of Manchester City Council (cited in Newby, 2003) attributed faster progress on regeneration efforts to the hosting of the 2002 CWG, claiming that, without the games effect, achievements in East Manchester would have taken five or ten years longer.

Nonetheless, past experience also suggests that the galvanising effect of an event cannot achieve legacy benefits on its own, and therefore there is a requirement for additional ‘leveraging’ activities (Chalip, 2006, Chalip, 2014, McCartney, 2010, Misener et al., 2015, Smith and Fox, 2007). Ideally, these projects should be event-themed, rather than event-led, and should endeavour to use the sporting event merely as a coalescing and synergistic ‘hook’ around which to gather disparate projects not integral to the hosting of the event itself. The 2002 Manchester CWG was the first sporting event to take this promotional approach, which

‘encouraged a greater range of socially-orientated projects and benefits than would otherwise have been possible’ (Smith and Fox, 2007 p.1130). However, some critics (Black, 2008, McCartney, 2010, Vanwynsberghe et al., 2012) suggest that this is illustrative of the flawed logic in the pursuit of legacy. There are two aspects to this: first, if positive social outcomes are as vitally important as city leaders claim they are, then it is entirely legitimate to question why they have been simply ‘piggy-backed’ onto a sporting mega event. According to McCartney (2010), this question undermines organisers’ claim of the *intrinsic* social value of playing host. The second aspect is that the requirement for supplementary initiatives acknowledges the need for some mediation to be introduced to offset the concomitant potential for social harm.

Furthermore, generating public support and enthusiasm for major sporting events is critical if legacy benefits are to be achieved. In his empirical study of the Sydney 2000 OG, Waitt (2003) draws on social exchange theory which posits that residents perceive events as either negative or positive in terms of the expected benefits or costs within an exchange relationship between actors. A positive perception is said to occur when the perceived benefits (including benefits to other groups) outweigh the costs; conversely, negative perceptions occur when little gain, personal or altruistic, is derived from the exchange. Residents are therefore more likely to evaluate an event positively if they perceive the rewards to be maintenance or improvement of their social and economic wellbeing, or have a sense of participation in planning policies and trust in event organisers. Chalip (2006), drawing on his own anthropological fieldwork at the Los Angeles and Sydney OGs, claims that celebration engenders in people a desire to be part of something significant that transcends sport. He presents useful tips for fostering a sense of celebration and social camaraderie in order to generate ‘communitas’, including: enabling sociability at and beyond the venues (picnic areas); creating event-related social events; facilitating informal social opportunities (e.g. at Live Sites); producing ancillary events (e.g. cultural programme); and finally ‘theming’ the events through logos, flags, banners, displays. The limitation here is that Chalip’s recommendations are focused primarily on short-term effects based around the event itself. Misener and Mason (2006) take a longer-term view. They align their empirical observations from the Manchester 2002 Games to the theoretical construct of social capital and suggest four ways by which broader-based, inclusive community involvement might be attained. These are that community values should be central to all decision-making processes; that various stakeholders, particularly community interest groups, should be involved in strategic activities related to events (bid process, management, legacy); that collaborative action should empower local communities to become agents of change; and,

finally, that open communication and mutual learning must be maintained in order to avoid power brokering. These recommendations provide a useful benchmark for the critique of current practice with regard to the planning and preparation for Glasgow 2014.

## 2.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has sought to gain conceptual clarity around the main impetus for this study, namely sporting mega events and the legacy or enduring benefits that might be secured from their hosting. Despite its current ubiquity within the lexicon of sporting events, there is academic consensus that a clear, unambiguous and consistent definition of legacy is absent. Remarkably, no evidence was found which might be drawn upon to support the case for achieving a legacy, suggesting that the current policy rhetoric is best treated with caution. In this sense, event organisers would do well to heed Raco's advice (2004) to couch legacy ambitions in modest terms to avoid disappointment and 'to think laterally about the impacts that can result from such events' (p.47). The main explanation for the absence of evidence is that no sporting event prior to Vancouver 2010 and London 2012 has attempted to put legacy at the very heart of its ambitions and planned explicitly for its delivery. This latest phase in the evolution of legacy heralds an important milestone in research terms.

Notwithstanding the lack of supporting evidence, there is some tentative theoretical support for legacy, with useful guidance emerging from the academy to inform legacy planning. Yet uncertainties and risks remain, not least for outcomes pertaining to socially disadvantaged groups, and legacy planning should therefore be critically appraised in terms of its commitment to secure an equitable distribution of the purported benefits. With regard to research priorities, there is a call for efforts to be channelled towards the social dimension of legacy. A 'bottom-up' perspective is critical to this.

The essence of legacy supports the notion of passing on something, whether tangible or intangible, to a future generation. It is fitting therefore to situate young people at the heart of this investigation into legacy processes and outcomes. This study will also be interested in examining the extent to which the essential building blocks for legacy have been applied to Glasgow 2014, namely embedding legacy in youth policy; engaging with young people; and leveraging youth-related activity. It will also be mindful of the potential for negative effects for a social group shown in the literature to be most adversely affected by neo-liberalism.

## Chapter 3 Young People's Horizons

### 3.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter draws on an extensive interdisciplinary literature in order to establish a broad theoretical backdrop for the investigation. Given the focus of interest in young people, the first part opens with an examination of the different approaches to understanding 'youth' and highlights current attempts by youth scholars to define a future research agenda which best reflects the issues experienced by the current generation of young people. The next section situates young people in their everyday social context and interrogates the dominant theories of social capital to ascertain the influence of social norms and social networks in shaping future goals and intentions. The final section shifts attention to the spatial context by considering attachment to place and its pivotal role in the delineation of young people's life choices.

### 3.2 Youth and the Life Course

The concept of youth is a recent social construct. Indeed, anthropological studies attest to the absence in pre-modern societies of a transitional youth stage (Hunt, 2005). Progress from childhood to adulthood in traditional societies was direct and usually marked by normative rites of passage or initiation ceremonies to denote the abrupt and fundamental change in status. However, the shift from a feudal to capitalist society, so-called 'modernity', ushered in a degree of gradation within the notion of a 'life cycle'. G. Stanley Hall's 1904 seminal work on 'adolescence', a term first coined by him, defined the focus of research inquiry for the next fifty years. Then, towards the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, an interest in the 'sociology of youth' led to the emergence of a distinct, and broader, field referred to as 'youth studies'. Although the words, adolescence and youth, are sometimes used interchangeably in the literature, their disciplinary origins have bestowed them with different meanings and interpretations. In this study, 'young people' is used to encapsulate both terms, although it will be shown below that this expression also carries conceptual baggage.

'Young people' is an amorphous concept with no clear age boundaries. It has thus far demonstrated remarkable elasticity but is set to stretch even further, pulled downwards by the earlier onset of puberty as well as upwards by deferred entry, voluntary or otherwise, into 'adulthood'. With a temporal span ranging from ten to fifteen years' duration, the construct of a single group has become increasingly untenable. Recent attempts to interject

new categories, such as the much contested 'emerging adulthood' (Arnett, 2000), testify to the protracted nature of the adolescent phase and the challenge in its conceptualisation. Meantime, the confusion is compounded by conflicting policy messages, whereby young people are judged to have adult status according to one criterion, but not another (Jones, 2002, Morrow, 2013). By way of illustration, the granting of certain legal rights and responsibilities in the UK presupposes adult competency at defined chronological points e.g. age of consent at 16; age of majority at 18; right to vote in UK public elections at 18; and right to vote in the Scottish Independence Referendum at 16. Yet, at the same time, UK and Scottish educational and welfare policy presumes young people's protracted financial dependency on their parents. In the absence of legal obligations, this entails parental goodwill and results in additional financial burdens being placed on families already experiencing social disadvantage.

In the final analysis, the utilisation of chronological age to define young people is of limited value because it gives scant regard to differentiation, process and change. To gain a better understanding of the construct, attention is directed next to the different traditions involved in theorising young people.

### **3.2.1 Theorising Youth in a Post-Modern World**

The concept of adolescence has its origins in psychology, psychoanalysis, and neuroscience. Grounded in a study of biological stages, predominantly issues arising from the upsurge of instincts during puberty, its areas of interest are narrowly defined to include identity development, awakening of sexuality, and changes in family relationships and dynamics. Although the model characterises adolescence as a period of self-resolving turbulence and personal upheaval (or 'crisis', to cite Erikson, a key contributor in this field), its concern is essentially with socialisation stages within the life cycle which are universal, predictable and linear. Accordingly, the inherent pressures are mainly physiological, emotional and internal to the young person.

By contrast, a sociological view does not have a physiological foundation but considers instead pressures external to young people, such as those that arise from parents, peers, teachers and society at large. There are two distinct strands within this tradition, namely the study of 'youth cultures' or 'youth transitions' (Furlong et al., 2011, Shildrick and MacDonald, 2006). In keeping with its anthropological roots, the former's main area of interest has been the various collective identities of subgroups of young people, or sub-

cultures, and their distinctive and subjective expression through behaviour, fashion and music, portrayed as attempts to 'resolve the contradictions of their age and situation' (Wyn and White, 1997 p.92). Regarding youth transitions, a predilection amongst scholars for large-scale quantitative surveys is evident of an ongoing investigation of structural issues which impact on young people's entry into the labour market, deemed to be the primary marker of maturity and adulthood. Although the transition paradigm includes other wider aspects of youth experience, such as family and housing transitions, these tend to be eclipsed by the salience of education-to-work issues (Kintrea et al., 2015, MacDonald et al., 2005, Roberts, 2007).

Over the past decade, there have been repeated calls from within both traditions for a theoretical reappraisal of the study of young people (Bynner, 2001, Coleman, 2011, France and Roberts, 2015, Furlong, 2009, Wyn and Woodman, 2007). These have been prompted by the increasing change, complexity and uncertainty experienced by young people, so-called 'precarity' (Standing, 2011). Whereas youth transitions to employment were once considered to be routinely linear and largely assured, they are now characterised as producing a 'churn' effect, the result of a 'prolonged set of movements which are less predictable and involve frequent breaks, backtracking and the blending of statuses' (Furlong et al., 2003 p.24). Indeed, a discourse of 'crisis' or 'lost generation' has caused some commentators to challenge the very notion of transition, which uses the preceding social generation as 'the standard against which the new generation is measured, and hence tends towards discovering 'delayed', 'extended', or 'failed' transitions' (Wyn and Woodman, 2007 p.373). Accordingly, the emergence of a 'new youth' has led to a demand for new markers of adult status in order to capture the altered complexity of contemporary youth and a greater interest in understanding the subjective experiences of young people who are obliged to create a 'sense of self' and 'belonging' amidst rapidly changing social conditions.

Central to the theoretical debate is the increased emphasis afforded within policy and research to personal agency and the extent to which 'choice' remains 'bounded' by structural constraints (Coffey and Farrugia, 2013, Furlong, 2013). Within the developmental tradition, scholars are broadening the scope of their study beyond the individual to capture the wider socio-environmental context in which the young person is situated, so-called 'developmental contextualism' (Coleman, 2011). At the same time, those within youth transitions acknowledge an 'over-emphasis on structure in youth-transitions research post-1960s and a perceived over-emphasis on agency in many studies of youth culture' (Furlong et al., 2011



p.360). The following section examines agency and structure in turn, prior to a consideration of how the two have come to be reconciled within a new 'middle ground' orthodoxy.

### **3.2.2 Self and Society**

The balance of relationship between the individual and society has changed markedly in the last few decades, with a paradigm shift upholding the concept of personal agency now widely accepted in the literature (Coffey and Farrugia, 2013, Furlong, 2009). The notion of 'individualisation' was introduced into social theory by Giddens (1990, 1991) and Beck (1992). In their parallel theoretical accounts of contemporary issues, they make reference to the ongoing debate about whether the recent sharp and significant changes represent a brand new epoch, or simply a continuation and accentuation of modernity ushered in by capitalism and the industrial age (hence the plethora of related terms, post-modernity; high modernity; late modernity). Both authors claim to detect the 'contours' of another era which has not yet 'become'; however, the issue turns out to be inconsequential in any case since, in separate writings, they reject the very notion of social evolutionism and progress. The main message, arguably the most disturbing one, is that the current epoch, referred to by them respectively as 'high modernity' or 'risk society', is discontinuous from whatever has gone before. Indeed, Beck (2013) is unequivocal in his assertion that in essence this entails the transformation of the social and political order, rather than simply its reproduction.

In accord with this new worldview, young people are no longer able to read the roadmaps used by previous generations, for this is considered to be a period in which the world has literally and metaphorically been opened up to new globalising forces, exposing its inhabitants to unprecedented opportunities and unavoidable risks. Therein resides one of the double-edged aspects or paradoxes of the contemporary age. On the one hand, the message might be considered akin to a liberating 'call to action'; individuals, no longer embedded within traditional social institutions and relations such as class, kinship or locality, are active agents, free to appropriate from multiple and diverse choices. As the popular saying goes, 'the world is their oyster'. On the other hand, self-actualisation is understood within a precarious 'duality of structure' whereby individuals must continually seek a balance between opportunity and risk. With globalisation, individuals are increasingly vulnerable to uncertainties which are novel in terms of their reach and intensity. The effect is that individuals have ultimately no control over their destiny, which is both unknown and 'unknowable':

‘To accept risk as risk, an orientation which is more or less forced on us by the abstract systems of modernity, is to acknowledge that no aspects of our activities follow a predestined course, and all are open to contingent happenings’ (Giddens, 1991 p.28).

Importantly, opportunities and hazards must be negotiated as individuals without the support of their social networks, such as family and friends:

‘There have been specific historical developments leading to individualization. They have disrupted the experience of historical continuity; as a consequence, people have lost their traditional support networks and have had to rely on themselves and their own individual fate with all its attendant risks, opportunities, and contradictions’ (Beck 1992 p. 92).

In this ‘runaway world’, there exists only one adaptive strategy open to individuals, that of the ‘reflexive project of the self’ (Giddens, 1991 p.5), whereby young people are obliged to forge their own individual pathways and biographies within a pluralist, fragmented and changing world and to construct a coherent identity purposefully from the myriad of choices available. This reflexivity is both a retrospective and prospective process, involving a reconstruction of the past, together with anticipation of the future, and is continuously subject to revision. Moreover, in its Sisyphean dimensions, there is constantly lurking beneath the surface a sense of ‘existential isolation’ and ‘personal meaninglessness’ (Giddens 1991 p.201).

### **3.2.3 New Choices, Old Constraints?**

There is much debate in the literature about the continued relevance of structured inequalities and the influence they exert in shaping expectations and outcomes. Beck (1992) argues that social inequalities in a risk society have become associated with individual shortcomings rather than structural factors. This does not mean to say that he is blind to the latter, an accusation often unfairly levelled against him. Indeed, he acknowledges that risks can often be distributed in a socially stratified fashion, reinforcing the stability of a ‘class society’. He cites examples such as the risk of becoming unemployed and continues in a similar vein:

‘The possibilities and abilities to deal with risks, avoid them or compensate for them are probably unequally divided among the various occupational and educational strata. Whoever has the necessary long-term financial cushion at hand can attempt to avoid risk through the choice of a place of residence [...] The same is true for nutrition, education and the related behaviours in eating and informing oneself’ (p.35).

His main argument is that risk society removes the relevance of class, which in his view has become an outmoded concept or so-called 'zombie category' (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2001 p.203). He dismisses the influence of social differentiation, attributing this to the fact that contemporary risks (ecological disaster, nuclear warfare, financial meltdown) have moved onto a new and higher destructive plane, which touches on the minutiae of everyday lives, and from which it is impossible to escape. In sum, structural inequalities are trumped by a new 'distributional logic of risks', therewith placing the dichotomy of agency and structure beyond his frame of reference. Beck (1992) puts it succinctly thus: 'all the social strata are connected to the same pipe' (p.36).

The suggestion that contemporary youth has been freed from the traditional constraints of their class, gender and ethnic origins has been vigorously challenged in the literature. The weight of empirical evidence indicates that, despite Beck's narrative of discontinuity, there has been no weakening in the influence of social origins in shaping and constraining individual choices (Côté and Bynner, 2008, Furlong, 2009, MacDonald et al., 2005, Threadgold, 2011). Indeed, Jones (2002) observes that the 'youth divide' is in fact worsening. In her overview of a Joseph Rowntree Foundation research programme, she claims that:

'there is increasing polarisation among young people (...) between the rich and the poor, between those with qualifications and those without. These polarisations show up in many aspects of young people's transitions, and they reflect continuing outcomes of structural inequality rather than personal agency and choice' (p.4).

Furlong and Cartmel (2007) describe the supremacy afforded by Beck and Giddens to personal agency as tantamount to an 'epistemological fallacy'. Their view is that the increasing role of personal agency in youth transitions has simply made the presence of social inequalities more nuanced and less amenable to detection. In Crompton's (2010) opinion, the debate should be framed as the 'end of class *consciousness*, (or specific class identities) rather than the end of class-related inequalities (or the causal capacities of class) - in short, a pseudo-debate' (p.11 author's own italics). Within a new critical theory of class, Curran (2013) conceptualises social class in terms of access to financial resources in an attempt to introduce gradations and calculability into Beck's 'undifferentiated, catastrophic account of risk' (p.44). Thus conceived, he demonstrates how differentials in wealth associated with class relations exacerbate rather than dissipate the relevance of class to individuals' exposure to risk. Curran's argument about economic capital will be extended

later in this thesis with reference to socially-differentiated access to other 'capitals', including social capital.

In theorising youth, many influential scholars have adopted a 'middle ground' or hybrid position to better reflect the limits placed by social structure, particularly class, on individual choice (Bynner, 2001, Côté and Bynner, 2008, Jones, 2002, Raffo, 2011, Roberts, 2010, Threadgold, 2011). Evans (2007) proposes the concept of 'bounded agency' as a way of understanding the experiences of young people in changing social landscapes, in effect, re-framing agency as a 'process in which past habits and routines are contextualized and future possibilities envisaged in the contingencies of the present moment' (p.85). To illustrate this, Glaesser and Cooper (2014)'s study of young people's educational choices in England and Germany found that while dispositions, reflecting familial class of origin, determined the upper and lower aspirational boundaries for young people, there remained agentic space within these limits for rational decision-making.

These issues gain particular salience through their connection to policy formation. The following section examines the youth policy context in Scotland and reveals the distortion inherent within a discourse which privileges agency over structure.

### **3.2.4 Youth Policy in Scotland**

There is no single youth policy in Scotland; rather, it resides in various policy 'silos', including education (secondary and tertiary); economy (skills development); health (risk behaviour); and justice (antisocial behaviour; juvenile crime). That does not mean to say that there is little political interest in the matter. On the contrary, the Scottish Government (SG) has assigned two ministerial positions to this age group. While the Minister for Children and Young People has been concerned with issues around children's rights and child protection since 2007, the more recent appointment in 2011 of a Youth Employment Minister (renamed Minister for Youth and Women's Employment in 2014) highlights the priority afforded to the employability of 16-24 year olds and the urgent requirement to support their transition into the labour market in the wake of the economic downturn and amidst rising youth unemployment.

The aims of the various youth-related policies are tied into the SG's overarching purpose of increased sustainable growth (Scottish Government, 2013a). Indeed, the new Curriculum for

Excellence<sup>2</sup> (CfE) has attracted widespread criticism in the literature as being overly instrumental, with priority afforded to competencies and capacities and the potential conversion of young people into future productive 'human capital' (Priestley and Biesta, 2013). The basis of this utilitarian approach is the acquisition of 'a work relevant educational experience for our young people' (Scottish Government, 2014b p.i) in order to enhance Scotland's competitiveness within a global economy. Additionally, the strategic objective of a 'wealthier and fairer' Scotland (Scottish Government, 2012g) indicates a concern with social equality and social mobility and implies that education policy has an important role to play in tackling social exclusion. Indeed, the imperative of raising individual aspirations, relating to educational attainment and occupational goals, underpins Scottish youth policy and provides the impetus for taking corrective action to address perceived motivational deficiencies:

'In compulsory education, we have the chance to encourage and influence attitudes to the importance of skills and the world of work. This is crucial: influencing young people's thinking and behaviour is highly relevant to shaping their life chances. So we must focus on developing the essential skills, changing young people's views of how they communicate and interact with others and raise their aspirations. Equally, we must aim to reverse negative ways of thinking and behaviour' (Scottish Government, 2007).

Angela Constance, Scotland's then Minister for Youth Employment, described the transition from education to employment as 'one of the key moments in a person's life' (Scottish Government, 2012e). Accordingly, policy implementation in Scotland concentrates on expanding post-16 opportunity and choice. In essence, the programme, *Opportunities for All*, is a national transition planning service, whereby there is an explicit commitment to offer a place in learning or training to every 16-19 year old not in employment, education or training (Scottish Government, 2012c). This involves multiple choices within diverse settings: including staying on at school; attending college or university; taking part in national training programmes such as Modern Apprenticeships; or volunteering, with large-scale events such as Glasgow 2014 and the Ryder Cup cited as opportunities for youth training and employment. The means-tested Education Maintenance Allowance, abolished in England but retained in Scotland with reduced levels of support, currently provides over 35,000 young disadvantaged people with a financial incentive of £30 per week to remain in

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<sup>2</sup> Scotland's curricular provision has long been distinctive from the rest of the UK. A Review Group produced its report in 2004, establishing the foundations for a 'new' model of curriculum which emphasised the following: child-centeredness; teacher agency and autonomy; and competencies and capacities, with the latter framed as a response to pressures associated with globalisation, particularly in respect of economic competitiveness and citizenship.

education and learning (EMA Scotland, 2014). With eligibility for Job Seeker's Allowance only starting at age 18, this means that no financial support is available for those opting in favour of leaving compulsory education at 16 years.

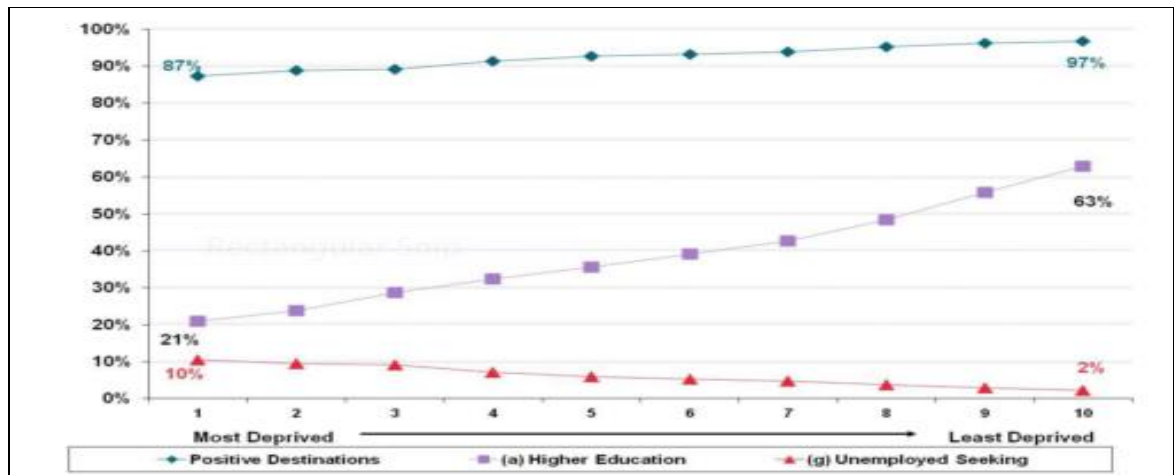
The meaning ascribed to policy 'success' and 'failure' is captured unequivocally in the Scottish National Performance Indicator<sup>3</sup> which measures the proportion of school leavers in a 'positive destination' nine months after leaving school (Scottish Government, 2015e). The indicator distinguishes between those who are 'not in employment, further or higher education or training' (NEETs), and those who are. Understood in these binary terms, the policy might be considered successful, with a recent governmental announcement boasting that 91.7% of school leavers in Scotland had reached positive destinations, the highest proportion reported since comparable records began in 2004 (Scottish Government, 2015c).

Notwithstanding, the literature is critical of the dualism inherent in current policy. Jones (2002), taking a UK-wide overview, argues that social exclusion articulated in this way is too narrowly focused on a 'minority cluster at the bottom of the socio-economic heap' (p.41). Furthermore, some scholars argue that adherence to NEET-reduction targets simply encourages a fire-fighting approach to working with marginalised youth, who are stereotyped and stigmatised for not subscribing to the prevailing educational ethos (Yates and Payne, 2006).

However, the main issue with the national performance indicator is the social realities that it hides from general view. Figure 3.1 overleaf presents recent destination figures for school leavers (Skills Development Scotland, 2014). These indicate a 10 percent difference in positive destinations between school leavers living in deprived areas (87%) and those living in less deprived areas (97%). The social patterning is more pronounced regarding entry to Higher Education with the data showing that young people from the least deprived areas are three times more likely to go to university than those living in the most deprived. The issue of social inequality was writ large in a recent OECD (2014) report highlighting the emergence of a 'graduate economy' and the consequence of an 'increasing social divide between the educational 'haves' and 'have-nots'.

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<sup>3</sup> Progress towards Scotland's strategic objective of economic growth is monitored against 50 National Indicators, covering key areas of health, justice, environment, economy, and education. <http://www.gov.scot/About/Performance/scotPerforms>.



**Figure 3.1 Positive Destinations by Deprivation Level (source: SDS)**

There is also evidence of a wider problem of youth inequality. Empirical studies provide numerous examples of a ‘missing middle’ category of ordinary young people, situated somewhere between NEETs and so-called ‘tidy’ pathways (Roberts, 2011, Snee and Devine, 2014). According to Jones (2002), many young people in this group are experiencing difficulties: ‘in the social hierarchy of young people, between the ‘socially included’ and the ‘socially excluded’, there is a large (and largely invisible) group trying to survive on scarce resources, including their own resilience’ (p.44). Cumbers et al. (2009) criticise the current practice of deregulated training schemes in Glasgow which risk exposing school-leavers to exploitation and abuse by employers. Moreover, it is not clear whether the majority of young people who continue into academic or vocational education are making a positive choice, or whether it simply reflects a lack of current employment opportunities (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). Wyn and White (1997) argue that young people who would have preferred employment on leaving school have instead become ‘refugees’ in education systems which ‘cannot deliver their promise of access to a better life’ (p.23). Making the important distinction between ‘absolute’ and ‘relative’ social mobility, Brown (2013) provides an excellent account of the realities of ‘social congestion’ as more young people from working class families are encouraged to participate in Higher Education at the same time as those from middle class families seek other means of competitive advantage such as foreign travel, internships, extra-curricular activities, or application to ‘better’ universities. Related to this is the complication of credentials’ devaluation - the more university degrees circulating in the youth labour market, the less valued by employers they are likely to be - which means that university graduates are obliged to take lower-entry employment in the services industry, making it even more difficult for those with fewer qualifications (Croll, 2008). Finally, the needs of those who do manage to find employment, often in ‘jobs without training’, are often ignored (Maguire, 2010). Notably, Roberts (2011)’s study of employed

working-class young men highlighted the particular challenges for them of lack of training, limited career progression, and contractual insecurities.

Several empirical studies have challenged the underpinning UK and Scottish policy assumption of low aspirations (Green and White, 2007, Kintrea et al., 2011, Sinclair et al., 2010). A survey of young people living in a disadvantaged community in Glasgow found 'no evidence of any deficiency in terms of their motivation, aspirations nor willingness to work' (Sinclair et al., 2010 p.17). However, these studies provide a limited perspective insofar as their attention is exclusively on deprived areas. More importantly, secondary analyses of national datasets indicate that, whilst aspirations are generally high, those held by disadvantaged young people, and their parents, remain stubbornly lower when compared to advantaged groups. Furthermore, there is evidence that the gap according to advantaged and disadvantaged groups widens further between 14 and 16 years of age, a time when more realistic expectations usually set in (Croll, 2008, Goodman and Gregg, 2010, Gutman and Akerman, 2008). At the same time, these studies indicate that young people with high aspirations from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds may be unable to overcome financial and social obstacles to achievement, suggesting the likelihood of dashed hopes for many of them.

While aggregate analyses are useful in determining broad statistical patterns, they are methodologically unable to get 'below the surface' to reveal the meanings and experiences behind them (Winterton and Irwin, 2012, Wyn and Woodman, 2007). In the following section therefore, an approach is suggested for this study, which highlights the interplay of multiple and complex influences on individual aspirations and examines the formation of these in the context of highly subjective world views.

### **3.2.5 A 'Life Course' Perspective**

A life course perspective is adopted in this study because it reflects the hallmarks of late modernity with its heightened uncertainties, increased choices and ongoing need for reflexive life management. This approach ensures the centrality of the individual and brings a biographical perspective which is both holistic and richly contextualised. Thus conceived, it sidesteps the construction of youth as a 'stand-alone' development phase insofar as it respects the continuities of an entire lifespan by linking together the past, present and the future. This carries an important distinction. Not only does it avoid the assumption that young people have the same starting positions on entry to youth (Goodman and Gregg, 2010,



Jones, 2002) but, by the same token, it also removes the notion of a clearly demarcated endpoint of adulthood, a category which in its own right has become increasingly ephemeral and problematic. Finally, a life course permits the substitution of 'turning points', or finely-grained milestones, for transitions. These might also be characterised as 'narrative pivots around which it is possible to change and rework the stories we tell ourselves' (Henderson et al., 2007). Turning points are akin to Giddens' concept of 'fateful moments', defined by him as those times when 'individuals are called on to take decisions that are particularly consequential for their ambitions, or more generally for their future lives' (p.112).

Above all, a life course perspective serves as a convenient metaphor to denote the process of navigating lives towards future goals or destinations (Furlong, 2013). The shift towards individualisation means that not everyone will have the same horizon on their radar, such as Further or Higher Education; for some, aspirations will entail residential and occupational outcomes within their locality and be defined and constrained by the opportunities in that geographical boundary; others will have higher aspirations and consider the 'world as their oyster' (Skrbis et al., 2013). Similarly, multiple behaviours and diverse pathways are likely to be involved (Evans, 2007). Some of these will be relatively strategic, uncomplicated and 'tidy'; some will be reactive, bi-directional and 'messier'; whilst, for a sizeable minority, they might entail languishing around the margins of society. Ultimately, young people's socio-spatial aspirations, and their ability to navigate a pathway towards achieving them, will be strongly influenced by two critical factors: first, the resources and opportunities available to young people through their social interaction, so-called social capital; and secondly, their attachment to place of origin and willingness to consider opportunities beyond this spatial anchoring. Put simply, 'who you know' and 'where you live' are most influential in enabling or constraining choices about 'where you get to' in life. The social and spatial aspects of young people's lives will each be considered in turn.

### 3.3 Social Capital Theory

Social capital, broadly constructed as the set of trust, reciprocity, social norms, social networks and organisations which shape the interactions within a society, has rapidly been appropriated by policymakers and politicians as a 'must-have' commodity for society and a 'cure-all' prescription for its ills. The concept's entry into, and subsequent proliferation within, mainstream political discourse is attributed to the publication of *Bowling Alone* (Putnam, 2000), which popularised and privileged the author's homespun formulation of social capital with its emphasis on civic participation. Social capital has been adopted by

institutions such as the World Bank, the OECD, and the European Union. Closer to home, building social capital and social cohesion are evidently important to policymakers in Scotland. One of the nation's five strategic objectives, 'Safer and Stronger' Scotland, aims to 'help local communities to flourish, becoming stronger, safer places to live, offering improved opportunities and a better quality of life' (Scottish Government, 2012d). Moreover, the hosting of Glasgow 2014 is justified in official legacy documentation by the goal of an 'inclusive Glasgow', which aims to maximise opportunities for civic participation: 'the challenge is to encourage Glasgow citizens to give time to help others on a voluntary/unpaid basis (this may include charities, clubs, school boards, helping someone in the community) in a formal or informal setting' (Glasgow City Council, 2009 p.64).

At the same time, social capital has aroused controversy in scholarly discourse across the broad social sciences. The charges levelled against it are serious and wide-ranging, involving conceptual, methodological and political issues. Some critics (Fine, 2010) reject the notion in its entirety and urge a strong defence against what they regard as a disciplinary 'colonisation' of sociology by mainstream economics. Their argument is that the juxtaposition of 'social' and 'capital' constitutes an inherent contradiction in terms, amounting to an omission of the social dimension in the first instance:

'Social capital is understood as the 'missing link' in understanding economic development. It is a telling metaphor, implying that the notion completes the chain of explanation, filling out what has otherwise been absent. Since 'capital' is not absent from economics, the incorporation of social capital has the effect of addressing the 'social'. In its own way, an explicit recognition is being made that mainstream economics has previously excluded the social and now it is time to bring it back in again' (Fine and Green, 2000 p.79).

Forrest and Kearns (2001) sum up the prevalent critical response succinctly: 'overuse and imprecision have rendered it a concept prone to vague interpretation and indiscriminate application' (p.2137). The main criticism relates to its polymorphic ability to 'mean all things to all people', therewith dismissing the notion of social capital as a single and unified conceptual entity. As described below, this lack of shared understanding can be traced back to its theoretical origins insofar as the 'fathers' of social capital (Putnam, Coleman, Bourdieu) intended different meanings by the term.

There are also concerns about its theoretical under-specification which has made the empirical application of social capital problematic. Measurement of social capital poses a particular challenge. In past quantitative studies, measurement has been undertaken partially

and inconsistently, usually involving the arbitrary selection of single or multiple dimensions of social capital and the use of existing survey questions not originally intended for capturing social capital. By way of illustration, a recent attempt to explore the distribution of social capital in Scotland entailed secondary analyses of datasets from both the Scottish Household Survey and Scottish Health Survey (Scottish Government, 2012f). The researchers acknowledged the methodological limitations thus:

‘The measures included are intended to cover at least one aspect of each dimension, but are not comprehensive. For example, questions around communities focus on geographical communities, rather than communities of interest, while questions about views of the local area focus on perceptions of anti-social behaviour. Again, it is important to note that if other questions had been included - for example, focusing on more positive aspects of people's neighbourhoods - the results may have differed’ (p.4).

Putnam's central idea relates to collective returns or social aggregates, so-called ‘civic virtue’. In keeping with his communitarian view of social capital, the experience of civic participation means that people are better able to reconcile differences, work co-operatively together, or be receptive to new opportunities. Formal civic association, coupled with more casual forms of social connection, such as nodding to a stranger in the neighbourhood, promote and enhance collective norms and trust in a way that ‘lubricates’ social life and promotes the kinds of interactions which reinforce generalised trust and reciprocity. Put simply, communities with high social capital function better. With regard to policy discourse, many commentators are critical of the dominance afforded to Putnam's narrow communitarian view which equates social capital with horizontal local associations (club affiliations; civic groups). Some critics argue that, thus conceived, social capital facilitates the neo-liberal withdrawal of the welfare state and diverts attention away from broader structural inequalities, such as poverty (Levitas, 1998). On a similar note, Morrow (2001b) claims that Putnam's emphasis on ‘civic virtue’ simply translates social capital into a reified commodity and introduces the idea of a ‘deficit theory syndrome, yet another resource that unsuccessful communities or neighbourhoods lack’ (p.57).

In contrast, Coleman and Bourdieu, albeit from different vantage points, place less emphasis on the ‘public good’ nature of social associations and regard any benefits of group activity as primarily the property of the particular individuals involved. Nonetheless, similar to community-level resources, these social networks constitute norms which have the potential to shape, endorse, or sanction individual aspirations. For this reason, this thesis adopts a synergistic view of communitarian and network positions and examines social capital in

terms of both its 'public' and 'private' goods. Interestingly, the evidence is unequivocal regarding the mutually reinforcing and consistent relationship between individual aspirations and the various social and spatial influences upon these, notably family, school, and place (Kintrea et al., 2011).

### 3.3.1 'Weak' and 'Strong' Ties

The notion of 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital (Putnam, 2000) brings a more nuanced perspective to social capital and helps distinguish between the types of networking which might facilitate or restrict young people's horizons. Bonding networks are characterised as close-knit, intensive and inward-looking, representing 'strong' ties with those who have similar lifestyles and socio-economic status. At best, they establish a stable base of networks based on trust and reciprocity; at worst, they are parochial, insular and highly constraining. By contrast, bridging networks, being more diffuse, extensive and outward-looking, involve 'weak' ties to heterogeneous groups. A distinction is often made between the different outcomes they deliver. Bonding social capital is about maintaining existing resources, providing insulation for people during difficult times and enabling them to 'get by'; or it may be simply enjoyed for its own sake. On the other hand, bridging capital, in granting access to additional resources (getting information, seeking employment, accessing positive role models), provides leverage to enable people to 'get ahead' (Lin, 2001). Putnam's metaphor is a compelling one; while bonding capital is said to provide the 'sociological superglue', bridging capital acts as 'sociological WD 40'.

In his theoretical commentary, Schuller (2007) considers the relationship or interaction between bonding and bridging networks. He introduces a simple matrix to demonstrate, for instance, how social units which have high levels of both bonding and bridging capital would be secure in their identity yet open to new ideas ('confident, creative'), compared to units with low levels of both, which, with their strong within-group identity, would be unable to derive much from their own resources or external contacts ('suspicious, low energy'). Research suggests that deprived communities are more likely to suffer from 'network poverty', defined as having a paucity of weak ties to more extensive, socially diverse networks (Li et al., 2005, Savage et al., 2013). Put simply, the patterning of social relations and networks exacerbates and reproduces social inequalities.

### 3.3.2 Bourdieu and Inequality

Lin (2001) argues that social capital theory must seek to explain how actors through their various interactions and social networks have differential access to structurally-based networks, referred to as 'opportunity structure' (p.29). Putnam and Coleman have been justifiably criticised for failing to account for structural influences in their versions of social capital theory (Fine, 2003, Morrow, 2001b, Raffo and Reeves, 2000, Weller, 2006). This blind spot is especially significant given unequivocal evidence that young people growing up in disadvantaged areas are disproportionately affected by recent socio-economic changes (Standing, 2011). In this respect, the 'retrieval' of Bourdieu is justified on the basis that his anthropologically-oriented writings come closest to conceptualising a relationship between agency and structure (Henderson et al., 2007). Bourdieu made frequent reference to the mutual antagonism within social sciences between subjectivism and objectivism and argued for the need to transcend this dichotomy, describing his epistemological position as the 'science of dialectical relations between objective structures...(..)and the subjective dispositions within which these structures are actualized and which tend to reproduce them' (1977b: 3).

Bourdieu's most significant contribution is his introduction of a unique trio of conceptual terms or 'thinking tools'. His writings bring into play the wider social arena or macro level perspective, so-called '*field*'. Field is defined by him as: 'a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space' (1998 p.40). As such, the term could be applied to the prevailing political and economic system such as neo-liberalism, which he was highly critical of (1998, 2001), but it could equally relate to any force, such as the educational system, which exerts a 'push or pull' influence on individual action. Individuals are thought to occupy a field position by virtue of their appropriation of a range of capitals. In this respect, Bourdieu broadened the scope of his analysis to include the interplay of different capitals. To social capital, he added a galaxy of others, including economic (wealth); cultural (education, family background, cultural possessions), and symbolic (understanding of the 'rules of the game'). An additional element in the mix is individual disposition or *habitus*, or what Bourdieu himself refers to as the 'internalization of externality' (cited in Grenfell, 2008 p.53). Disposition is concerned with durable and largely unconscious, even *preconscious*, attitudes and is related to an individual's cultural and familial roots. Importantly for this study, it might be viewed as a determinant of

individual responses to the new opportunities introduced as a result of the CWG hosting, in itself viewed as a 'field change'.

Bourdieu (1990) combines these thinking tools synergistically within a single relational unity in an endeavour to explain individual decision-making. In late modernity, success is contingent on the ability to recognise, prioritise and seize emerging opportunities. To gain advantage, individuals need to understand the rules of the game; they need to perceive opportunities for what they are; and they need capital to grasp and occupy new field positions. The 'winners' are those with the greatest accumulation of capitals, whereas the 'losers' are those in dominated positions of society, who, with their inadequate accumulation of capitals, are likely to remain in economically deprived field positions. In this regard, some commentators have criticised Bourdieu for his overly deterministic view; however, a closer reading of his work suggests that he left theoretical space for personal agency (Reed-Dannahay, 2005). As mentioned already, the hosting of the 2014 Games might be constructed as a 'field change', bringing the potential for social mobility. Bourdieu suggests two risks in this regard; first, that of missed opportunities, defined as the 'structural lag between opportunities and the dispositions to grasp them', or, worse still, *hysteresis*, defined as the mismatch between habitus and field, where the individual might be left feeling 'out of touch' with both time and place (Grenfell, 2008).

### 3.3.3 Social Capital and Young People

Despite its limitations, the literature considers social capital theory to have overall merit as a heuristic device with which to investigate the wider social context (Bassani, 2007, Holland et al., 2007, Morrow, 2001b, Weller, 2006). Schuller (2007) attributes the theory's shortcomings simply to 'adolescent' characteristics. Social capital, he suggests, displays a 'lack of maturity, untidiness, vulnerability to abuse (analytically and politically), with an unpredictable future' but brings with it 'considerable promise' (p.14).

The promise that social capital theory holds for this research is manifold. Most importantly, social capital provides the 'wraparound' context for individual life courses, insofar as it embeds young people within the social arena of everyday life, where the daily negotiation of trajectories is undertaken. In so doing, it recognises that young people's attitudes and actions reflect the social reality that they experience and that decisions about their future are not taken in social isolation. This thesis takes a broad view of social capital as encapsulating norms and networks (Woolcock and Narayan, 1999) and examines whether these serve to

broaden or constrain social horizons. Closely related is social capital's capacity to act as a link between different levels of social and spatial analysis: at micro (individual); meso (social structure, social network, neighbourhood); and macro (city, nation) scales, and to investigate how these combine to influence individual life courses.

Social capital theory has been widely criticised in the literature for regarding children as passive recipients of adult social capital within the family and educational systems, rendering them 'invisible to the sociological gaze' (Leonard, 2005 p.607). However, an emerging body of literature has sought to address this imbalance by giving more attention to the voices and experiences of young people. New theoretical frameworks have been proposed. Schaefer-McDaniel (2004) brings some conceptual order to an otherwise untidy concept by formulating three components of young people's social capital. She reaffirms the importance of social capital staples ('social relationships and interactions'; 'trust and reciprocity'), but her main contribution is the inclusion of 'place attachment' or 'sense of belonging' within the social capital mix. She claims that when young people feel they belong to a neighbourhood and have a symbolic attachment to it, they are more likely to have a higher level of social interaction. However, the issue of social inequalities is ignored in her writing. By contrast, Raffo and Reeves (2000)'s notion of 'individualised systems of social capital' reflects Bourdieu's 'habitus' and is used to explain the relationship between the agency exercised by marginalised young people and the contribution made by social 'structures' in shaping their school-to-work transitions.

Youth researchers have utilised social capital as the underpinning theoretical framework across wide-ranging areas of interest, including health and wellbeing (Morgan and Haglund, 2009, Morrow, 1999); substance use (Fletcher and Bonell, 2013); citizen education and civic participation (Weller, 2006); identity development (Holland et al., 2007); sectarianism (Deuchar and Holligan, 2010); youth transitions to work (Green and White, 2007, MacDonald et al., 2005, Raffo and Reeves, 2000); family-based social capital (Seaman and Sweeting, 2004); and refugee experiences (Deuchar, 2011). While these studies have generated useful learning about the relatively under-explored social capital of young people, unanswered questions still remain. In particular, where young people access social resources and what purpose might be served in doing so, warrants closer scrutiny (see 3.3.5) but, first, attention is given to the process involved in 'social capitalisation'.

### 3.3.4 The Social Capitalisation Process

The sociologist Lin (2001) draws on the generic concept of 'capital' with its notions of 'assets', 'investment' and 'profit' to inform his conceptual model of social capital. Although the discussion is adult-centred, his definition of social capital highlights two components which are critical to an understanding of social capital: '*resources* embedded in social relations and social structure, which can be *mobilised* when an actor wishes to increase the likelihood of success in a *purposive* action' (my italics p.24). The first aspect, that young people have the potential to derive resources from their social interactions with others, has been well rehearsed in the literature, but the second, relating to the transformation of these resources into capital, much less so (Bassani, 2007). The argument here is that resources do not automatically become capital but must be utilised by the individual in order for a benefit to accrue. Drawing on empirical studies from two UK schools, Morrow (2001b) concludes that 'actors need to recognise their networks as a resource in order for these networks to constitute 'social capital'' (p.56). Similarly, in theorising about healthy youth development, Laser and Leibowitz (2009) conclude that 'an individual sense of purpose and a desire for future attainment is fundamental to eliciting social support. The desire to prepare for the future makes social capital pertinent' (p.97). The implication is that investment of social resources depends on the mobilising impetus of individual aspiration, or what Coleman (1988) refers to as the 'engine of action' (S96). For this reason, consideration should be given to the formation as well as the realisation of aspirations.

Nevertheless, there is an inherent 'Catch 22' situation here insofar as social capital might be conceived simultaneously as both cause and effect. Accordingly, not only is social capital construed as a moderating influence on the shaping of aspirations via the presence of social norms, it is also instrumental in the actualisation of these same aspirations, depending on the availability and utilisation of beneficial social networks. Consideration is given next to those social resources which have most relevance to young people, and the question is posed whether, in some cases, these same resources might be regarded as assets or liabilities, in terms of their capacity to extend or narrow young people's horizons.

### 3.3.5 Young People's Social Resources

The three social capital scholars share the view that social capital is embedded in social relations. Young people have access to a range of social structures and networks (family, school, and friends).



### **3.3.5.1 *Family of origin***

Family of origin is widely regarded in the literature as the primary social resource for young people (Laser and Leibowitz, 2009). Coleman's (1988) conceptualisation of the 'ideal' structure is the nuclear family, the corollary being that single-parent and dual earner families constitute a 'structural deficiency' (S111). In this sense, he shared Putnam's view that working mothers and lone parenthood were two of the main causes of declining social capital and loss of community cohesion. However, Coleman also had an interest in the functioning of the family, observing that, even if adults were physically present, there would be 'a lack of social capital if there [are] not strong relations between children and parents' (S111). Findings from Seaman and Sweeting's (2004) qualitative study in Glasgow with families (parents, some teenage children) challenge some of Coleman's assumptions. The researchers found that contemporary family forms did not reflect Coleman's structure. However, this did not necessarily result in a social capital 'deficit' but instead prompted a compensatory role for extended kin, including non-biological family members. Older siblings and step-siblings warranted special mention as sources of 'insider information'.

The majority of studies focus their attention on families of young people in deprived areas. In their study of future aspirations of 13 and 15 year olds, Kintrea et al. (2011) found that parents had high educational aspirations for their children and higher than their own attainment levels, while the wider family was the most important source for occupational ideas. Similarly, studies of employment transitions of young people have highlighted the importance of family contacts in facilitating entry to work (Furlong et al., 2003, Green and White, 2007, MacDonald et al., 2005). For some, family was an enabler; but, for others, it was a constraining factor in accessing training or work opportunities, where parents were unwilling for young people to move, or to grasp new or unfamiliar opportunities.

Where comparative studies exist, they provide evidence of striking social inequalities, with advantaged parents found to have higher expectations for their children than those who were less affluent (Goodman and Gregg, 2010). Crucially, these same parents were also more likely to help with homework; participate in school activities; provide access to books, computers, and tutors (Goodman and Gregg, 2010); secure quality work placements (Waller et al., 2014), and, regarding tertiary education, 'play the admissions game' (Robb et al., 2007). Similarly, Croll (2008) found in his secondary analysis of national longitudinal data that young people from more occupationally advantaged families were more ambitious, and had better educational and occupational outcomes than other young people. One finding is

particularly striking. Regardless of social group, when young people were found to be ambitious and educationally successful, their occupational outcomes were comparable; however, 'where young people are neither ambitious nor educationally successful, the outcomes from those from disadvantaged homes are very much poorer than for other young people (p.243). This finding attests to the 'safety net' or insulation provided for those who possess higher levels of economic or social capital. Ethnic differences are also evident, with parents from most minority ethnic groups generally having higher aspirations than their White British peers. This is especially true for immigrant families who have endured hardships in moving country for a better life (Gutman and Akerman, 2008, Robb et al., 2007).

### **3.3.5.2 Schools**

Young people spend a significant proportion of their time in schools, and therefore it is not inconceivable that the educational setting will leave some imprint on the formation of their future goals and destinations (Furlong, 2013, McKinney et al., 2013). Nevertheless, schools should not be viewed as standardised social institutions. Rather, the literature attests to the influence of individual school ethos and culture in shaping pupil aspirations and providing support in the realisation of these. Although not the primary focus of their research, Kintrea et al. (2011) reported being 'struck by the commitment shown by the schools in supporting the aspirations of their students' (p.47). Nevertheless, they found considerable variability between individual schools, which was determined by a number of external and internal factors, including geographical location; the catchment area served; school ethos and practices; and links with the wider community. The extent to which schools are embedded within a community was singled out by Coleman (1988). In his comparative study of three US school clusters (public high schools; religiously-based private high schools; non-religiously based private high schools), he found that social capital varied according to type of school, with faith-based schools outperforming non-faith and private schools in this respect.

Smyth and Banks (2012)'s comparative study of a state-funded and private school in Dublin found that social class was reproduced through the academic climate and provision of career guidance to pupils. They drew upon Bourdieu's concept of 'institutional habitus' to explain why certain choices for certain pupils were perceived as variously 'unthinkable, possible or probable' (p.265). Much less is known about the influence of school ethos within the same category of educational establishment. However, in recent studies of secondary schools in

Glasgow, McKinney et al. (2012) and Robison (2013) found that, while state-funded schools with similar socio-economic profiles had similar educational attainments, there was nonetheless a significant difference in pupils' post-school destinations. Robison attributed this to differential careers support being available to pupils. Finally, intra-school analyses have highlighted the profound and enduring impact of teacher expectations on students' self-perceived ability, with the most academically competent pupils being singled out for support, the 'ordinary' mainstream being overlooked and the lowest ability students being stereotyped as underachievers (Robb et al., 2007, Roberts, 2012).

### **3.3.5.3 *Friendship Groups***

Friendship groups and youth-centred associations differ from the 'situational networks' of family and friends in that young people have the ability to choose whom they interact with, and which groups they join (Bassani, 2007, Li et al., 2005). However, given the adult dominance in the youth social capital literature, the influence of friends on life choices is relatively unexplored. Green and White (2007) collapse family and friends together into one group; Kintrea et al. (2011) consider family and schools, but not peers; and, in their review, Gutman and Akerman (2008) focus mainly on young people and their parents. When friends are brought into the picture, it is usually in terms of their role in identity formation or reaffirmation of particular aspects of self (Weller, 2009), or of parental concerns about their offspring socialising with the 'wrong crowd'. Yet there are suggestions that some young people are not simply passive recipients of peer pressure, but instead strategically choose friends according to shared aspirations for academic success (Robb et al., 2007). Sources of social capital for young people include informal networks such as extra-curricular activities, sports clubs, youth clubs and other leisure-based associations. Moreover, social network sites (SNS) are fast becoming ubiquitous aspects of young people's lives. SNS contain features which are relevant to this research such as the construction of identities and the formation (and sharing) of friendship networks (Mallan et al., 2010). Theoretically, SNS have the potential to widen social networks and provide access to a range of benefits; however, empirical studies from the US report that young people mostly use SNS to communicate and interact with friends already known to them (Ahn, 2011). This distinction between real and virtual networks echoes the point made earlier (3.3.1) about the nature and strength of different social ties and the extent to which they facilitate a broadening or restriction of young people's perceptual reading of the world.

### 3.4 Significance of Place

Given that social relations are embodied and enacted within a geographical context, it is not surprising that a strong correlation exists between social capital and place. Place, albeit defined narrowly as 'views of the local area', has gained inclusion as one of the five dimensions within the UK measurement framework for social capital (Office for National Statistics, 2001), with suggested indicators including: views on physical environment; facilities in the area; enjoyment of living in the area; and fear of crime. However, as argued below, this represents only a partial rendition of the significance of place in people's lives.

The genealogy of the concept of place can be traced back to Fried and his seminal 1963 psychological study of the relocation experiences of residents in the West End of Boston in the US, which suggested the existence of strong emotional bonds between people and places. More than a decade later, the concept was given impetus by contributions from within humanistic geography. Adopting a phenomenological approach, Tuan (1974) and Relph (1976) utilised Heidegger's existential concept of *Dasein*, or 'being-in-the-world', to posit place as a fundamental part of the human condition and to convey the indivisibility of the person-place experience. While Relph suggested that 'to be attached to places and have profound ties with them is an important human need' (p.38), Tuan claimed that undifferentiated 'space' becomes 'place' as it becomes endowed with meaning.

In recent times, place has attracted more mainstream attention from researchers across a broad range of disciplines including environmental psychology, social psychology, sociology, public health, and applied fields such as community development and urban planning. While such a diversity offers a rich and diverse palette for the researcher, the different, and sometimes conflicting, epistemological foundations of the various research traditions have resulted in conceptual fragmentation (Giuliani and Feldman, 1992, Patterson and Williams, 2005) and fluidity (Forrest, 2008). Not least of all, what constitutes the spatial range of place is often taken for granted. 'Neighbourhood' is most often interpreted as the place of choice, but Kearns and Parkinson (2001) suggest a more nuanced interpretation. They describe neighbourhood as a 'multi-layered phenomenon' (p.2104), distinguishing between the home area, defined as 5-10 minutes' walk from the residence; the locality or neighbourhood; and the broader urban district or region, with each of these said to fulfil a different function in people's lives. Indeed, Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) challenge the primacy of neighbourhood, defined as locality. In their study of adults living in Santa Cruz de Tenerife, they found that whilst neighbourhood attachment amongst adults was evident,

it was nevertheless weaker than attachment to the house and city. Finally, more recent commentators such as Manzo (2003) consider the saliency and meaning of non-residential places, for example, the outdoors or specific public places, in people's life worlds.

Whatever specification of place is used, a more fundamental question remains: put simply, to what extent does place still have a 'place' in late modernity? For Beck (1992) and Giddens (1991), globalisation has undermined the primacy of place and attenuated its influence over people: 'place thus becomes much less significant than it used to be as an external referent for the lifespan of the individual' (Giddens, 1991 p.147). Accordingly, attempts to re-embed lives within locality are ultimately futile: 'some, such as the cultivation of a sense of community pride are probably too vague to do more than re-capture a glimmer of what used to be' (p.147). Yet this view does not withstand the weight of empirical evidence which provides testimony to the enduring relevance of the place where people enact their everyday lives. Kearns and Parkinson (2001) sum up its impact across a range of individual and social outcomes:

'the neighbourhood is significant in a number of ways, such as being: an important component of a competitive social and economic world; a reservoir of resources into which we can 'dip' in pursuing our lives; an influence upon our lifestyle and life outcomes; a 'shaper' of who we are, both as defined by ourselves and others; and an important arena for public policy intervention' (p.2109).

The last point is underscored by Power (2005). With direct reference to Giddens, she advises policymakers to see place as a potentially important site for 'bottom up' social renewal, adding that 'neighbourhoods are not just a microcosm of global conditions but are the nexus for addressing problems that seem out of control in this 'runaway world' (p.100). Relph (2008) acknowledges the need for a more complex understanding of place in light of its simultaneously 'grounded' and 'boundless' characteristics. Nevertheless, his stance on the importance of place as a 'phenomenon of everyday experience' remains steadfast:

'place..(.) has a remarkable capacity to make connections between self, community, and earth, between what is local and particular and what is regional and worldwide. It is the intimate and specific basis for how each of us connects to the world, and how the world connects with us' (Preface).

### **3.4.1 Theory of Place Attachment**

Various aspects of the connections between individuals and their surroundings are subsumed under the conceptual banner of 'place', including place identity, sense of place, place-

making, and place attachment, resulting in an imprecision in terminology (Giuliani and Feldman, 1992, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996). For the purpose of this thesis, the concept of place attachment is most pertinent, given the interest in this investigation in the socio-spatial horizons of young people who often live very constrained lives. In this respect, the following definition proposed by Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) is particularly useful because it goes straight to its conceptual essence: 'a positive affective bond between an individual and a specific place, the main characteristic of which is the tendency of the individual to maintain closeness to such a place' (p.274).

Place attachment is defined as having two interconnected dimensions: functional and emotional. Livingston et al. (2008) define functional attachment broadly as the ability of a place to enable individuals to achieve their everyday goals and desired activities. This aspect refers primarily to the physical characteristics of places, including fixed assets such as local facilities for employment, shopping, and leisure. Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) apply the psychological concept of self-efficacy, suggesting that an environment is regarded in a positive light if it facilitates residents' routine lifestyle and supports their goals and purposes. Conversely, emotional place attachment refers to the feelings, moods and emotions people have about certain places and the people who live there. In her literature review, Manzo (2003) argues that, while much of the context of everyday life is so familiar that the people-place relationship is enacted at an unconscious level, there are times when these feelings are brought to the fore of consciousness. While she envisioned this happening through negative disruptions to daily routine, such as burglary or relocation, it is equally plausible that hosting the Glasgow 2014 CWG might have a similar effect, stimulating residents of the East End to assess their relationship with their place of residence and to consider how their area might be represented to 'outsiders'.

There is a tendency in the literature to emphasise the positive aspects of place attachment (Livingston et al., 2008, Manzo, 2003), which in turn has fuelled considerable debate about the perceived decline of community and neighbourhood (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, Putnam, 2000). For communities, place attachment is associated with stable cohesive neighbourhoods and low crime; whilst for individuals, it provides security, access to social networks and place-based social identity (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996). The literature indicates that the main correlates for positive place attachment are home ownership, high levels of education, and length of residence (Livingston et al., 2008). Not surprisingly then, deprived communities have been found to have lower place attachment when compared with their less deprived counterparts, or, as described below, to have the 'wrong' type of place attachment.

By contrast, the negative aspects of place attachment are under-represented in the critical literature. Manzo (2003) claims that the dominant discourse around 'eulogized space' (p.57) as a source of rootedness, belonging and comfort does not adequately represent the full spectrum of human experience with regard to people-place relationships. The dark side of place attachment is not a novel idea. Relph first wrote about the 'drudgery of place', understood by him as 'seeing the same people and doing the same things day in and day out'. In a recent reprint (2008), the author broadened the notion thus:

'I have subsequently realised that the problems go much deeper than drudgery. There is little wonderful about home for those who spend most days wondering how to get enough money to buy food and pay the rent, or who are victims of domestic violence. Nor is it wonderful when a deep association with place mutates into exclusionary attitudes that reveal themselves in segregation, or, at their extreme, in the violent practices of ethnic cleansing' (Preface).

A critical aspect is voluntarism (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001), defined, in the first instance, as the extent to which residents feel that they have 'opted in' to the neighbourhood, rather than simply ended up there by default; and, secondly, whether these same residents feel that others might also choose to live in that neighbourhood. Bourdieu (1999) argues that physical location reifies social location insofar as individuals with the most symbolic and cultural capital are able to dwell in the most desirable locations. In the worst case scenario, he writes that the 'lack of capital intensifies the experience of finitude; it chains one to a place' (p.127). Kearns and Parkinson (2001) note the socio-spatial implications of living in marginalised neighbourhoods in terms of a tendency towards the formation of bonded social networks and territorial behaviour. In these circumstances, the resultant place attachment is likely to blunt opportunities for social and physical mobility.

### **3.4.2 Place Attachment and Young People: The Present**

Recent UK studies have shown that children and young people are less able to roam freely than they did in the past (James, 2007, Louv, 2009). Nevertheless, during this formative period, an interesting duality comes to the fore, whereby increased spatial behaviour and spatial autonomy occur at the same time as the burgeoning of place attachment (Dallago et al., 2009, Giuliani and Feldman, 1992). In this respect, Cahill (2000) developed the notion of street literacy, defined by her as a 'conceptual framework that describes the dynamic processes of experiential knowledge production and self-construction in a specified context, public urban space' (p.252). This spatial experience mediates an 'understanding of self' and

of 'self in the world' - in the 'here and now', as well as the 'imagined self of the future' (Prince, 2013).

Yet the afore-mentioned social and physical dimensions of place are more commonly experienced as barriers and constraints for young people. Young people's spatial accounts suggest a dialectic of 'hanging out' versus 'contested' places (Childress, 2004), with young people 'excluded from, or at least, not welcomed in, much of the adult-appropriated public realm' (Travlou et al., 2008 p.309). Akin to a centrifugal effect, young people are obliged to use so-called 'micro-geographies', including parks, streets and shopping centres, which offer them limited possibilities of social and physical interaction. Youth behaviour, especially in disadvantaged areas, is often perceived by adults as problematic (Neary et al., 2013) and as a phenomenon which needs to be regulated and monitored by whatever means possible, through anti-social behaviour orders, surveillance cameras, and curfews. Yet such cross-generational conflicts and misunderstandings are not novel. In her pioneering study of Scottish youth and their leisure time in the 1960s, Jephcott (1967) found young people especially critical of the 'thoughtless way in which the adult world linked anyone who appeared to be an adolescent with Trouble' (p.88).

Studies show that territoriality, considered to be a form of 'super place attachment', is part of the lived reality of deprived communities. In their study of six UK deprived urban areas, Kintrea et al. (2008) identified various manifestations of territoriality, ranging from young people simply enacting behaviours in public space; to those with stronger territorial affiliation, involving gang identification; to organised criminal gangs. They identified a number of motivating factors for territorial behaviours, such as 'friendship and group solidarity that provided an alternative to household and family affiliations' (p.5). Similarly, in some of the most deprived areas of Glasgow, Deuchar and Holligan (2010) found evidence of a desire for excitement and spatial protection amongst the gang members in their sample. In both studies, territoriality was a cultural expectation passed down from older generations. Negative impacts were restricted mobility, problems with access to amenities relating to their location, and the risk of violent assault and criminalisation. More recently, Fraser (2013) has challenged the increasing tendency within UK gang scholarship to collapse the phenomenon into a singular construction, calling for more sensitised and situated accounts within specific cultural contexts, therewith 're-framing gang research beyond the traditional criminological gaze' (p.982).



While gang-related impacts are experienced primarily by boys and young men, there is evidence of spatial and social constraints for all young people, including those without any active involvement in gangs. Neary et al. (2013) found in the accounts from young people living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Glasgow that they used their knowledge of others' territorial behaviour to inform their own local spatial behaviour. Not surprisingly, various studies in the UK and US have shown that the dominant discourse amongst young people (and their parents) revolves around issues of fear and safety, again evoking Cahill's notion of street literacy and the need to acquire a nuanced 'turf' strategy for navigating the local environment safely.

### **3.4.3 Place Attachment and Young People: The Future**

Young people's aspirations are shaped by the direct experience of the place that they live in (Kintrea et al., 2011). Similarly, place attachment was found to exert an influence on young people's decisions about life choices: 'where people live matters in terms of their access to transport and education, training and employment opportunities and the horizons that they have' (Green and White, 2007 p.ix). While some young people 'transcend' space in their aspirations and knowledge of opportunities, others are 'trapped' by space, confining themselves to a narrower subset of the opportunities open to them. Usefully, the literature also includes a number of longitudinal studies which provide important learning about the realisation of future trajectories. In the *Inventing Adulthoods* study, conducted over ten years in five contrasting UK localities, Holland et al. (2007) found that young people were constantly negotiating the competing 'push and pull' of their communities. The theme of mobility was uppermost in their accounts, both in practical (getting around, public transport, learning to drive) and aspirational (travelling, or migrating for education or employment) terms. However, there was also evidence of a social patterning arising from differences in orientation towards physical and geographical mobility: 'Strong affinities to local community and its norms, for example, could limit what was possible for young people, contrasting sharply with the option and choices open to those with a more global/cosmopolitan outlook' (p.101). Using data from a longitudinal study of young people in Queensland, Skrbis et al. (2013) affirms the structural conditioning of young people's spatial mobility in a global age: 'Put simply, some people are better placed than others to reap the benefits that flow from mobility opportunities' (p.615)', adding later that it is 'through corporeal and imaginative engagement with people, places and events outside local and national fields that the cosmopolitan outlook finds its most fertile ground' (p.616).

MacDonald et al. (2005) were struck by the 'localisation' of participant trajectories in deprived areas in Teeside, with virtually all interviewees remaining in the neighbourhoods in which they had been brought up. The primary motivation was emotional factors, as opposed to functional, and arose from attachment to close, locally-concentrated family and social networks, with many participants referring to the familiarity that comes with 'knowing and being known' (p.877). It was found that neighbourhood-based networks delineated the spatial reach of their job searches, causing the researchers to comment that:

'paradoxically, while connections to local networks could help in coping with the problems of growing up in poor neighbourhoods and generate a sense of inclusion, the sort of social capital embedded in them served simultaneously to limit the possibilities of escaping the conditions of social exclusion' (p.885).

It is widely accepted that many young people in disadvantaged areas would benefit from a stretching of bounded socio-spatial horizons. In this respect, White and Green (2011) present a number of recommendations for policy and practice, including supported use of transport to increase spatial mobility; organisation of visits and trips which take young people beyond their spatial 'comfort zone'; the organisation of sporting and social activities to provide new experiences; and, finally, bringing in outsiders as 'role models'. In a summative statement, they argue that such initiatives have tended to focus on young people at risk of becoming NEET, 'but it is likely that a wider range of young people would benefit from such initiatives' (p.x). Interestingly, many of these recommendations correspond with broad Glasgow 2014 legacy ambitions.

### **3.5 Chapter Summary**

This chapter acknowledges that the concept of youth is most usefully conceptualised as a construct in which the meaning and experience of becoming adult is socially mediated. While the profound changes associated with late modernity have brought with them a greater emphasis by scholars on individual agency and choice, this does not mean to say that structural factors are no longer operative. On the contrary, current theoretical thinking underlines the need to reconcile the two opposing forces of agency and structure within a single conceptual framework. The argument is made here in support of utilising a life course perspective in order to facilitate a rich contextual understanding of the interplay of various influences on young people. The evidence shows that the social and spatial context in which young people are located matters greatly in terms of shaping their attitudes, perceptions and actions. The literature supports the view that a broadening of social and spatial horizons is a positive step towards improving the life chances of young people living in disadvantaged

communities. Looking forward to the next chapter, it is suggested therefore that the 'intervention' of the Glasgow 2014 CWG might - in an ideal world - provide the impetus for appropriate people- and place-based mechanisms to be introduced for the benefit of young people in Glasgow's East End. However, it is important to be mindful of the possibility of unintended consequences and the risk of making a bad situation worse for young people living in this deprived neighbourhood.

## **Chapter 4    Theorising a Glasgow 2014 Legacy**

### **4.1 Chapter Overview**

While Chapters 2 and 3 established the conceptual foundations for this empirical study by examining the social constructs of ‘legacy’ from major sporting events and ‘youth’ within late modernity, this chapter takes a different turn insofar as it situates them within the specific historical and socio-cultural context of Glasgow and Scotland in 2014. Structurally, the chapter is organised into four parts. Given that the opening lines in Glasgow 2014’s bid document testify to Scotland’s ‘long and distinguished involvement in the Commonwealth Games movement’ (p.1), the first part provides a historical account of the circumstances surrounding the two previous occasions, in 1970 and 1986, when Edinburgh hosted the games. The second part brings the narrative up-to-date with a description of the bidding campaign, which won Glasgow the ‘privilege’ of staging the CWG for the first time in the city’s history. From the outset, the considerable undertaking of hosting this event was constructed as more than 11 days of sporting spectacle or cultural entertainment. With this promise in mind, there follows a critique of the legacy plans for Scotland and Glasgow, which set out their stall for the anticipated delivery of positive and enduring benefits, including to its young people. The extent to which these plans appear to embrace learning from past sporting mega events receives particular attention. The third part profiles Glasgow’s East End, the hosting epicentre of the 2014 CWG, and highlights the problems facing this deprived part of the city, as well as the opportunities which hosting the games purports to deliver. The final part of the chapter reverts to theoretical thinking with the development of an interim ‘theory of change’ framework, identifying the salient mechanisms or active ingredients within legacy planning which, singly or in combination, might conceivably work towards achieving young people’s expanded horizons, the outcome of interest for this study.

### **4.2 History of the CWG in Scotland**

It is tempting to dismiss early Scottish iterations of the CWG as being of little or no intrinsic value to the current legacy debate. Preuss (2007), in his rejection of a benchmarking approach to predicting or measuring legacies, attests to the uniqueness of sporting mega events in time and place, observing that even the same event in the same city at a different time would inevitably deliver a different legacy. Indeed, the contrasting accounts of the Edinburgh 1970 and 1986 Games, provided below, support this claim. Nonetheless, an

interest in examining the historical antecedents of Glasgow 2014 transcends mere intellectual or peripheral curiosity. As noted in Chapter 1, Roche (2000) advocates the sociological study of mega events because they have ‘much of a general kind to say’ (p.5). This view correlates with that of Dawson (2011) who highlights the value of comparing historical campaigns in order to uncover aspects of continuity and change. Indeed, his own analysis of the 1954 Vancouver CWG (known at the time as the British Empire and Commonwealth Games) and the 2010 Winter Olympics in that same city uncovers striking parallels between these two historically separate events. In a similar fashion, the historical account which follows of the two earlier Scottish iterations provides a useful viewing platform for Glasgow 2014.

### **4.2.1 The Edinburgh 1970 CWG**

Archive material suggests that the desired outcomes from the Edinburgh 1970 CWG (re-named the British Commonwealth Games in that year) were largely confined to the celebration of sport. This event, modest in scale relative to contemporary spectacles, involved 42 nations, 1744 athletes and officials and 9 sports and was considered an outstanding ‘success’ in sporting terms (Commonwealth Games Scotland, Year Unknown). The following excerpt is drawn from a book written by two journalists from one of Scotland’s main broadsheet newspapers, *The Glasgow Herald*:

‘The Edinburgh Commonwealth Games of 1970 were by common consent the most successful of all time. So popular was the celebration of sport in the Scottish capital during that innocent summer 16 years ago that the event was re-christened The Friendly Games. It was an alternative title that perfectly summed up the spirit of goodwill which touched every aspect of the festival (Bateman and Douglas, 1986 p.9).

Certainly, Scotland’s sporting performance was just cause for jubilation, with the host nation winning 25 medals, including six gold medals, and a 4<sup>th</sup> ranking in the national medals table. Contemporaneous official documentation claimed that the construction of new sports facilities (a £2.4 million Royal Commonwealth Pool designed to Olympic standards; and a new 30,000-capacity grandstand at the existing Meadowbank Stadium) would deliver ‘lasting assets to the city’ (British Empire and Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland, 1966 p.8). Indeed, the 2014 Glasgow City Candidate File paid tribute to the ‘legacy of investment by past generations’, citing as an example the newly refurbished Royal Commonwealth Pool in Edinburgh as the diving facility for the 2014 Games (Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland, 2007).

In addition to the pursuit of sporting success, commercial gains were anticipated in the form of a short-term boost to tourism. Sporting events had not yet become the global spectacles they are today, so the 'Homecoming' message was restricted to the Scottish Diaspora:

'Because Scotsmen and Scotswomen have made their home in many parts of the Commonwealth, the ties between Scotland and the countries of the Commonwealth are already strong. [...] For Scots abroad as well as at home, the staging of the 1970 Games in the land of their birth would be a great occasion' (p.4).

There was also evidence of a desire to build an international reputation for Scotland. The official documentation, a modest 28-page prospectus, underscored the message that hosting the CWG mattered greatly to Edinburgh and to Scotland at that juncture; understandably so, since the 1966 representation to the British Empire & Commonwealth Games Federation was the fifth successive 'invitation to host' issued by Scotland. Indeed, a series of previous failed attempts explains the somewhat frustrated and insistent tone in the following excerpt from Scotland's petition to the General Assembly:

'By their repetition at previous General Assemblies, Scotland's claims for cognition must be well known, but because they form so basic a part of the case for awarding Scotland the Games, they are reiterated briefly as follows:

The British Empire & Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland a) are founder members of the Federation; b) have participated in each Games since 1930; c) are the only founder members wishing to hold the games who have not had the privilege of doing so; d) in common with only five other Councils have taken part in all Games to date' (British Empire and Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland, 1966 p.5).

The Council's acceptance immediately conveyed collegiate status for Scotland and Edinburgh insofar as they had at last gained admittance into the international brotherhood of Empire.

#### **4.2.2 The Edinburgh 1986 CWG**

In bidding for the 1986 Games, Bateman and Douglas (1986) suggest that Edinburgh's political leaders desired to rekindle the past glory of 1970 and consolidate the city's standing in the world. Yet, despite their wish to re-enact the success of the 1970 Games, there were early indications that the 1986 story would have a markedly different ending. With galloping inflation, the cost projections for staging the Games had escalated beyond the reach of many aspiring host cities. In the end, Edinburgh was the only city to step in with a hosting bid.

Faced with a financial projection for staging the Edinburgh Games of £24 million, the Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) declared that, for the first time in its history, commercial sponsorship would be permitted. This decision was not without precedent in the wider multi-sporting events family - indeed, Edinburgh hoped to emulate the success of the privately-funded, and ultimately profit-making, 1984 OG in Los Angeles, coined the 'capitalist games' (Vigor et al., 2004 p.5). The media were fiercely critical of this 'private-enterprise spectacular', which prompted sardonic headlines, such as: 'sponsors have such Highland names as Coca Cola, Elf Oil, and Wang' (Clouston, 1985). In the absence of any financial support from the UK Government, Edinburgh had thereby harnessed its fortunes to the vagaries of market forces.

Although financial difficulties were apparent from the outset (Brasher, 1986), these were compounded by external factors beyond the organisers' control. The then UK Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, standing alone amongst Commonwealth States, opposed sanctions against the South African apartheid regime, a situation which led to a political boycott of the Games by African, Asian and Caribbean states. Shortly before the Games opened, the organisers conceded their failure in attracting adequate sponsorship revenue to cover the staging costs for the Games. Millionaire publisher Robert Maxwell stepped in as Games Chairman to manage the crisis, but his intervention fuelled further media criticism and bitter division between the organisers and Maxwell's team. In the end, the Games opened with the lowest participation level of Commonwealth nations since 1950 and a deficit of £3 million. Contemporaneous media accounts affirm that even the Opening Ceremony spectacle of 9,000 children in tracksuits running down Edinburgh's Royal Mile did little to lift the prevailing gloom. Bateman and Douglas (1986) lamented the ascendancy of commercial interests and assigned a negative legacy to the event:

'While few will look back at Edinburgh '86 with thanks, they will nonetheless be forced to concede that it was a turning-point where the Games changed direction and entered the brash new world of big money sport (p. 126) (...). Poor Edinburgh turned out to be the sucker, the taker of the Games when nobody wanted them, the financial flop that everyone will learn by, and the soft target of the politicians behind the boycott. It is a sad testimony to the city that lifted the Games to new heights through its brilliance in 1970, that it should again be responsible for securing their future through its incompetence' (p.127).

The Chairman of the Organising Committee (OC), reporting in April 1987 to Commonwealth Games Scotland (CGS), admitted that 'the 1986 Games will, unfortunately, be remembered for the boycott by thirty-two nations and a loss of £4.3 million' (cited in Commonwealth Games Scotland, Year Unknown).

## 4.3 Glasgow 2014

### 4.3.1 Contextual Changes

While outcomes from the Edinburgh 1970 and 1986 CWG were primarily concerned with sport (staging a spectacular sporting event; creating new sports facilities; securing national medals) and short-term economic benefits (attracting tourists), public officials in modern times have a greater interest in justifying the significant cost of staging increasingly complex and large-scale sporting events with the promise of broad and sustainable benefits. As noted in Chapter 2, legacy has evolved over time to become the central focus of contemporary hosting bids, reflecting a public policy shift towards using major sporting mega events as a catalyst for generating benefits across multiple domains - economic, environmental and social - and on a scale intended to be transformative.

Noteworthy for its absence in earlier historical accounts (Dawson, 2011), a scholarly interest has also emerged. The academy has drawn attention to the absence of evidence supporting the prevailing legacy rhetoric and has raised a number of sociological concerns, not least the unequitable distribution of purported benefits. Nevertheless, despite encountering widespread cynicism, the review of legacy literature also revealed a degree of consensus about the theoretical potential of achieving positive and enduring benefits. In this respect, some commentators have put forward recommendations on how legacy benefits might be leveraged, and these provide a useful reference point for the critique of Glasgow 2014 legacy planning. Finally, scholars have also urged political leaders and policymakers to undertake formal legacy evaluations so that the evidence base might be advanced (McCartney et al., 2010c, Weed et al., 2009, Wellings et al., 2011). These calls have not gone unheeded by the organisers of London 2012 and Glasgow 2014 (DCMS, 2011, Scottish Government, 2012b).

A notable change since the earlier CWG iterations relates to the issue of Scottish nationhood and self-determination. The CWG is the only major multi-sports event in which Scottish athletes have an opportunity to represent their country within a Scotland, rather than a combined Great Britain, team. Not surprisingly then, the Glasgow 2014 bid documentation (CGF, 2005) conveys a distinctively 'Scottish' national identity and culture, recognising that 'when national teams are doing well, there is tremendous national pride' (p.3). This marks a departure from the Manchester 2002 CWG candidature, which, in politico-spatial terms, was careful to maintain a pluralist position in terms of regional (North West England) and national (English, British) identities. In contrast, the Glasgow document proudly



acknowledges as ‘significant progress’ (p.1) Scotland’s devolved parliament since 1999 and the new Scottish Parliament’s full legislative competence and autonomy across the wide range of areas required in hosting the 2014 Games. Originally submitted under a Labour-led coalition in 2007, the bid nevertheless continued to receive enthusiastic support by the Scottish National Party (SNP) majority administration. Of particular interest was the decision in 2013 by Alex Salmond, then First Minister, to schedule the Scottish Independence Referendum in the month following the Games.

### **4.3.2 Bidding for Glasgow 2014**

The public account of the genesis of Glasgow 2014 bid goes back to the Manchester 2002 CWG, according to which Louise Martin, the Chair of CGS, first mooted the idea in a conversation with the then First Minister, Jack McConnell (Glasgow 2014, 2010). Two years on, a Bid Assessment Group, chaired by David Mackay, former Chairman of the Scottish Rugby Union, commissioned a feasibility study by PMP Consultants to assess the long-term benefits of hosting the Games in Scotland. Although the subsequent report was never published, the widely reported headline findings indicated that there were ‘substantial merits’ in a Glasgow bid. In its support, the authors highlighted the fact that the utilisation of many existing sporting facilities would help contain costs and that the city benefited from valuable prior experience in hosting major international events. In August 2005, the decision to submit a formal candidature was announced by Jack McConnell from Hampden Park, the national football stadium. In the following excerpt, he characterised the hosting of the CWG as a defining moment in Scotland’s history:

‘The Commonwealth Games has the potential to change our country. Taking the bold step to bring one of the largest events in the world to Scotland shows the scale of our ambition as a nation and the confidence that we have in our biggest city. I hope this decision will inspire thousands of Scots to take up the challenge of sport. We want future generations to have the facilities, the desire and the confidence to make the most of themselves. And we will showcase modern Scotland to billions of people. This is the right decision to make. Glasgow’s bid is viable, it is win-able and it will leave a lasting legacy across all of Scotland’ (Scottish Government, 2005a).

Nevertheless, this story raises some important questions. The main concern is that the report findings might well have been skewed on several counts: the first is that its commissioners comprised sports advocates and therefore were more likely to be partisan towards the hosting of the CWG; secondly, the public statements say nothing about the scope of the report e.g. whether or not it examines legacy benefits beyond sport, or identifies the risks or opportunity

costs associated with the pursuit of legacy; and, finally, the report was written by a global sporting events consultancy who conceivably would have had commercial interests vested in the hosting of sporting mega events generally. Unfortunately, information which might assuage these concerns is not in the public domain<sup>4</sup>, and therefore such questions remain unanswered.

Further questions arise on a critical reading of Glasgow's bid documentation (Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland, 2007). In a competitive scenario, the bid document is effectively a 'sales pitch' to the ultimate decision-making body, the CGF. This focus explains the plethora of statements regarding the primacy afforded to the staging of a successful sporting event and the overall responsibility to 'three key sets of players' (Vol. 3; p.99), defined in the document as: the athletes ('to ensure that we have planned effectively to provide the very best conditions in which they can compete successfully'); the Commonwealth Games Associations ('to ensure that we assist them in preparation for the Games') and, finally, the CGF ('to ensure that we work in partnership to consolidate and expand the importance of the Games in the sports calendar and within the work of the Commonwealth as a whole'). By implication, broader legacy responsibilities in this instance are relegated as a matter of secondary importance to the sporting event itself.

Yet 'legacy' is the subject of the opening question asked of aspiring hosts. The CWG follows a candidature procedure similar to that of the IOC. A vital component of this, alongside participation in an Observer Programme, site visits and final presentation (CGF, 2005), is the completion of a voluminous Candidate City File, requiring a detailed response to sixteen designated themes. Despite the centrality of legacy to the bidding process, an electronic search of the File did not uncover an official definition of the term. Scattered throughout the document instead are cautionary reminders that sporting venues must have a 'legacy strategy', meaning that organisers should seek temporary staging solutions in the absence of apparent long-term demand for facilities beyond the event. Thus conceived, it is fair to assume that such legacy concerns were prompted more by the spectre of 'limping white elephants' (Mangan, 2008).

Notwithstanding the absence of CGF guidance, the Glasgow team articulated its own ambitions for legacy within the bid document. Heralded as the 'most significant advantage

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<sup>4</sup> Requests were made to the Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council via email and personal contacts to source the original report which supported the bid, but these proved unfruitful.

of hosting' (p.11) is the opportunity to tell the world the story about Glasgow's renaissance in recent decades and to consolidate its current positioning as a 21<sup>st</sup> century cosmopolitan city. This showcasing occasion would also provide a mechanism for economic growth and inward investment, including the promotion of tourism ('visitors are drawn to our city because of our excellent hotels, our world-class museums, our international shopping malls and the extraordinary range of sporting and cultural events held every week' (p.2)). While this pitch is reminiscent of earlier CWG iterations in Scotland, the OECD (2010) noted the alignment with Glasgow's long-established deployment of mega events as 'pacing devices to accelerate the timeframe for the longer term economic strategy' (p.69), a strategy which goes back to the hosting of the 1988 Glasgow Garden Festival, the European Capital of Culture in 1990, and the City of Architecture & Design in 1999. Other legacy benefits, tangible and intangible, are also cited, including new or refurbished sports facilities and increased pride. The regeneration of the East End is also presented as a cornerstone of the bid, introducing the prospect of a 'new urban suburb'. However, there is surprisingly little mention of young people beyond the unsubstantiated claim in the opening pages that 'significant progress' had been made in Scotland in terms of 'investment in young people' and a vague commitment towards the development of cultural and educational initiatives, aimed at building young people's understanding of the Commonwealth and its constituent nations and territories.

Three cities submitted bids to host the 2014 Games - Glasgow (Scotland), Abuja (Nigeria) and Halifax (Canada). However, at the eleventh hour, and only weeks before the May 2007 deadline, Halifax withdrew its bid on the grounds that the investment required could not be justified (Wildsmith and Bradfield, 2007). According to Stell (2012), the subsequent competitive play-off between Glasgow and Abuja was 'really no contest at all' (p.5). The Evaluation Commission Report (CGF, 2007), a guide for voting members about the relative strengths and weaknesses of each city's bid proposition, characterised Glasgow's plan as 'sound and well-conceived', whereas they found Abuja's bid 'lacking in detail in areas such as financial planning and, in some cases, venue planning and legacy' (p.13). On 9 November 2007, Glasgow was nominated the winner by a 2:1 voting margin. Alex Salmond, Scotland's then First Minister, straightaway declared the victory as 'one of Scotland's great moments' (Glasgow 2014, 2010). With this pronouncement, Scotland and Glasgow embarked on a journey which was set to shape public policy and harness public expenditure for some considerable time in the future.

### 4.3.3 The Consultation Process

In their commitment to legacy planning, the Scottish Government (SG) and Glasgow City Council (GCC) demonstrated adherence to the first of several important lessons from past games. The following quotation from the consultation paper stated unequivocally that legacy would not happen by default: ‘the Games may be over six years away, but in order to successfully secure benefits from the Games, it is important that we intend to make them a reality at an early stage’ (Scottish Government, 2008a p.4). Similarly, in channelling efforts towards public engagement, event organisers addressed a criticism from previous games, concerning the degree to which local communities were empowered to influence legacy planning. However, as illustrated below, the SG and GCC adopted different engagement strategies for the consultation process, with the former leaning towards a rhetorical, ‘top down’ approach, and the latter, a more grounded, ‘bottom up’, approach.

On winning the bid, Scotland’s First Minister promised the launch of a national consultation within 100 days on how legacy benefits might be garnered from the hosting of the 2014 CWG (Scottish Government, 2008a). Such consultations are commonplace in national government practice (Scottish Government, 2012a), and therefore this commitment was not in itself remarkable. The subsequent consultation document did not set out pre-determined and detailed priorities and methods but instead assumed the form of a loose and multi-stranded logic model containing examples of activities and outputs which might theoretically work towards the Scottish Government’s five strategic objectives<sup>5</sup>. In so doing, broader social and cultural goals were given much more prominence than in the original bid document, with an extensive menu of possible activities identified, 76 in all.

As far as young people were concerned, the majority of initial ideas fell under the ‘Smarter Scotland’ objective with the emphasis on a ‘broadening horizons’ theme, involving ambitions for increased civic engagement, including volunteering, and a better understanding of Scotland’s role in the world. Other youth-related ambitions included the deployment of sport as a diversionary strategy to address anti-social behaviour (‘Safer and

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<sup>5</sup> The SG has aligned all tiers of government and delivery of public services within a National Performance Framework around 5 strategic objectives, referred to as Greener Scotland; Safer and Stronger Scotland; Wealthier and Fairer Scotland; Smarter Scotland; and Healthier Scotland. <http://www.gov.scot/About/Performance/scotPerforms>

Stronger Scotland’) and the targeting of NEETs<sup>6</sup> for employability initiatives (‘Wealthier and Fairer Scotland’). The ambition to increase a population-wide increase in participation in sport and physical activity (‘Healthier Scotland’) meant that this outcome was not reserved exclusively or primarily for young people.

The consultation document was issued in February 2008 to over 1000 organisations and individuals and made available on the SG website. As well as inviting the general public to submit written responses to the consultation, the SG also organised 16 free public events across Scotland, advertised through the national and local press, direct communication with Members of the Scottish Parliament, Local Authorities, community councils, sports clubs, business groups, educational institutions, and community groups. The SG also worked in partnership with Young Scot<sup>7</sup> to take young people’s views into consideration. Not surprisingly, of the 169 written submissions received, the vast majority (151) of these were from organisations, with most reflecting national interests. Sport, local government, and health were the sectors or interests most represented, with four responses received from national youth organisations. While most respondents supported the pursuit of legacy, several key informants, notably those associated with the delivery of the sporting event itself, criticised the consultation document for ‘overselling’ what the games could deliver, urging greater realism and restraint in setting legacy aspirations:

‘At present it appears from the consultation document that the Games may be seen to deliver all things to all people. Some tighter outcomes with associated resources are needed or the Games risks unfairly being labelled as the cause if all legacies as described are not delivered’ (CGF cited in Scottish Government, 2008b p.10).

That this admonition should emanate from the CGF is not entirely unexpected. A cynical interpretation of its response might be that it would be more advantageous to the organisation that the host city under-promise and over-deliver in order to protect the CWG ‘brand’ and nurture its ability to attract future bids.

In contrast to the national consultation process which invited feedback to a ‘wish list’, a similar exercise undertaken by GCC adopted a more systematic and evidence-based

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<sup>6</sup> NEET is a term used to denote a young person who is ‘not in employment, further or higher education or training’.

<sup>7</sup> Young Scot is a national charitable organisation which aims to provide young people aged 11-26 with a ‘mixture of information, ideas and incentives to help them become confident, informed and active citizens’ - <http://www.youngscot.net/>

approach. A participatory Health Impact Assessment (HIA) was undertaken by GCC, the GCPH and the MRC Social and Public Health Sciences Unit, working in collaboration. Its aim was to predict the impact of hosting the Games on health and to use this intelligence to influence legacy planning, such that the potential health benefits might be maximised and negative impacts mitigated. The evidence-gathering process was varied and comprehensive, including: routine and commissioned survey data collection; ‘Have Your Say’ workshops; informal consultation with those involved in evaluating the Manchester 2002 CWG; and a concerted campaign to engage ‘those that are traditionally excluded from consultation and engagement mechanisms’ (Glasgow City Council, 2008b), including youth groups and equality groups. In all, over 3000 individuals participated in the HIA during 2008 and 2009 (McCartney et al., 2010a).

One of the evidence sources, the Glasgow Household Survey, a routine, twice-yearly independent survey of 1000 city residents, found that the majority of citizens in the city believed the Games would have a positive impact on them, their families, their local area, and Glasgow as a whole. Interestingly, those living closest to the planned Games Village were less likely to believe that there would be a positive impact. Priorities, identified by those participating in the surveys and workshops, included both ‘hard’ (employment; improved infrastructure) and ‘soft’ (civic pride; ‘feel good’; cultural programme) benefits. Interestingly, researchers found that impact considerations were poised precariously on a fulcrum between positive and negative outcomes. For example, while the Games Village might be expected to create a sustainable, cohesive and vibrant new community, it also simultaneously carried the risk of gentrification, increased house prices, and social division.

Despite young people being targeted for the consultation process, including the HIA, no information could be found by the researcher in the grey literature which might have thrown light on the outcomes achieved by engagement with young people or youth organisations, nor on the issues raised specifically by them.

#### **4.3.4 Glasgow 2014 Legacy Plans**

The official legacy plans (Glasgow City Council, 2009, Scottish Government, 2009), representing national and host city perspectives on legacy, were launched jointly amidst a fanfare of publicity at the People’s Palace on 1 September 2009. The culmination of months of engagement and planning efforts, these documents by their own admission were not intended to be prescriptive, but rather were said to serve their purpose by describing broad

approaches to legacy. In so doing, they served as high-level statements of intent, to which stakeholders, working in strategic cross-cutting partnerships, were expected to add their detailed actions. The policy documents are examined more closely in the following section to highlight areas of commonality and differentiation.

The two Legacy Plans have much in common. Both characterise the hosting of Glasgow 2014 as a ‘once in a lifetime’ opportunity with the capacity for profound change. Throughout the documents, frequent use is made of evocative language and active verbs, such as ‘inspire’ or ‘excite’. Thematic frameworks help shape the direction of future detailed legacy planning, with the national themes<sup>8</sup> of ‘Active’, ‘Connected’, ‘Flourishing’, and ‘Sustainable’, corresponding closely with those of Glasgow City (‘Prosperous’, ‘Active’, ‘International’, ‘Greener’, ‘Accessible’, ‘Inclusive’) and embracing a broad set of outcome domains. Several important lessons from previous experiences of hosting sporting events are duly acknowledged. Thus, they both envisage a long-term timeframe for legacy, spanning ten years up to 2019. Equally, both documents state their intention to embed legacy planning within existing long-term strategies (the Glasgow plan usefully lists the relevant strategies under each headline outcome) and to align with the National Performance Framework and Single Outcome Agreements<sup>9</sup>, the building blocks for Scottish public policy. Additionally, they claim (again, the Glasgow 2014 Legacy Framework is explicit on this point) that, whilst the games event would accelerate progress towards existing goals, this alone would not be enough to effect change. Therefore, additional programmes, using the ‘hook’ of the games event and transcending sport, are said to be required. Both documents also acknowledge the hosting of London 2012 as an important milestone on the road to Glasgow 2014 and an invaluable learning opportunity. Finally, both pronounce similar underpinning values. The national legacy plan, *On Your Marks*, cites 5 key ‘principles’ (enhancing partnerships; enabling diversity; ensuring equality; encouraging community engagement; and embedding sustainability); while the Glasgow 2014 Legacy Framework promises to underpin its activity by ensuring Improved Health, Sustainability and Inclusiveness. Both documents commit to

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<sup>8</sup> The national legacy themes are represented diagrammatically within a Glasgow 2014 outcomes framework – see <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2012/10/9710/2>.

<sup>9</sup> In 2008, representatives of national and local government signed a concordat which committed both to moving towards Single Outcome Agreements (SOAs) for all 32 of Scotland’s Local Authorities. In 2009, this approach was expanded with the SOAs being agreed for all Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs) across Scotland. Under SOAs, community planning partners agree strategic priorities for their local area. SOAs need to show how locally agreed outcomes contribute to the Scottish National Outcomes.

active engagement with the local community to raise awareness of the opportunities provided by the games and to promote access to them.

Nonetheless, the Scottish and Glasgow Legacy Plans differ in several key respects. Whereas the latter defines legacy as a ‘set of benefits left behind well after a major event, like Glasgow 2014, has ended’ (p.6), the national plan, despite making reference to legacy 91 times, makes no similar attempt to conceptualise the term, regarding it more as a ‘given’. Furthermore, legacy is portrayed in the national plan in a positive light only; in contrast, Glasgow countenances the possibility of negative consequences, expressing a specific concern that ‘our actions are sensitive to the differing needs of people and that inequalities do not widen as a result of any of our actions (p.10)’. In this sense, the discourse in Glasgow’s legacy plan is somewhat tempered by the HIA findings, which are summarised as part of the scene-setting in the document’s opening pages. The Glasgow document is also transparent about the city’s problems of poverty, poor health and inequality, whereas the national plan does not mention inequality at all, despite equality being advanced as one of its guiding principles. Indeed, the Glasgow plan is explicit about its desire for inclusiveness, or creating a ‘legacy for all’, so that there is ‘something for everyone’. In the Foreword, the then Council Leader asserts: ‘that every Glaswegian will take something from the event that will remain with them. Everyone will take home memories, but I also want them to take home aspirations for the future’ (p.3). Whilst there are no specific objectives or targets attached to this ambition, the document nonetheless promises to build greater social cohesion or social capital by targeting those who would not normally undertake activities such as volunteering, or visiting cultural attractions. Such unequivocal commitments from city leaders are central to the focus of this study.

#### **4.3.5 A Prudent Investment?**

An examination of Glasgow 2014 legacy plans cannot ignore the scale of investment required to deliver legacy outcomes, nor the opportunity costs involved. With the embedding of legacy planning within existing strategies, stakeholders were encouraged to align existing budgets with overarching legacy ambitions. Whilst strategically sound, this approach was not without risk. Indeed, the second of two progress reports undertaken by Audit Scotland (2012) concluded that, in the wake of the 2008 financial downturn, public and private organisations might have difficulties in investing to achieve a long-term games legacy. The report authors recommended to the SG and GCC at that time that they ‘continue to review the risks associated with achieving legacy targets in light of the pressures on public and



private sector budgets and take mitigating action, including reprioritising their legacy objectives and revising targets if necessary' (p.6). In sum, legacy ambitions could not be set in stone and their realisation must remain vulnerable at all times to market fluctuations.

The experience of other mega sporting events indicates a tendency towards optimism bias with actual costs ending up significantly higher than estimated. According to Wildsmith and Bradfield (2007), the final price tag for the Manchester 2002 CWG was four times the original bid estimate. Glasgow 2014 was no exception to this rule, despite its argument that it would be less susceptible to cost overruns because seventy percent of the sporting infrastructure already existed. The original budget of £344 million was increased to £373 million following its assessment by the CGF, who judged that its budget assumptions were conservative for certain items, including security and the Opening Ceremony (Audit Scotland, 2009). Nonetheless, the revised budget, approved by the Scottish Parliament in January 2008, was itself soon found wanting and had to be increased again in May 2010 to £524 million (Audit Scotland, 2012), an increase of over 40% over the revised budget, and 52% over the original bid estimate. In 2013, the final budget was set at £575<sup>10</sup> mill (Audit Scotland, 2015). Yet, despite showing symptoms of 'spendicitis' (Mangan, 2008), the official account of Glasgow 2014 proudly claims that the Games was delivered 'on time and within its £575.6 million budget' (Commonwealth Games OC, 2014), with the third and final report from Audit Scotland praising the organisers for returning to the public purse an unspent £37.2 million (Audit Scotland, 2015).

The £575 million funding represented the core budget available to the Glasgow 2014 OC to plan and deliver the games event. It included the following: a substantive contribution towards the construction cost of the new velodrome in the East End; the entire construction cost of a new mountain biking facility at Cathkin Braes; the adaptation of existing sports venues to meet the specific requirements of the Games; supporting services such as staff, volunteers, technology, marketing and communications; and a contingency allowance. The OC was responsible for raising the balance of the total funding required (estimated at £81 million) from broadcasting rights, licensing, ticket sales and sponsorship. The OC budget excluded the bulk of the cost of facility provision and the new transport infrastructure estimated at over £2 billion at 2007 prices (Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland, 2007). The rationale for separating these out from the OC budget was that they were deemed

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<sup>10</sup> This increase was due primarily to increased private sector income from the success of the initial ticket sales programme and did not affect the public funding needed (source: Audit Scotland 2015).

to have been planned *prior* to the Games bid and therefore would have happened in any case. Whilst this is indeed a valid argument, it is equally true that this investment would not have happened within the same compressed timescale, nor to the same specification, had it not been for the catalytic effect of the 2014 Games. The logical inference is that public funding, committed for the long term, was no longer available for pressing ad hoc demands. Hall (2006) claims that these so-called opportunity costs are typically borne by disadvantaged citizens. Indeed, the allocation of spend to Glasgow 2014 has come at a time of financial austerity when the welfare budget is under intense pressure.

To compound the problem, the SG and GCC, as the main funding partners (with respective contributions at 80 percent and 20 percent), were legally bound to meet any unforeseeable budget overruns. For example, if the OC had not reached its revenue target of £81 million, the shortfall from this figure would have been covered by the SG and GCC. Additionally, as principal guarantor of the Games, the SG was committed to underwrite any additional costs which might have been incurred by the OC above budget. The SG provided other financial guarantees with regard to the Games, including certain security costs. Such an undertaking was tantamount to writing a 'blank cheque' drawn on the public account. Referring to Halifax's decision to bid for the 2014 CWG, Wildsmith and Bradfield (2007) described the prospect of spending millions of Canadian taxpayers' dollars as a 'huge gamble', concluding that 'if the goal is to build community participation and increase sporting participation, the Commonwealth Games does not seem to be the most cost-effective method' (p.14).

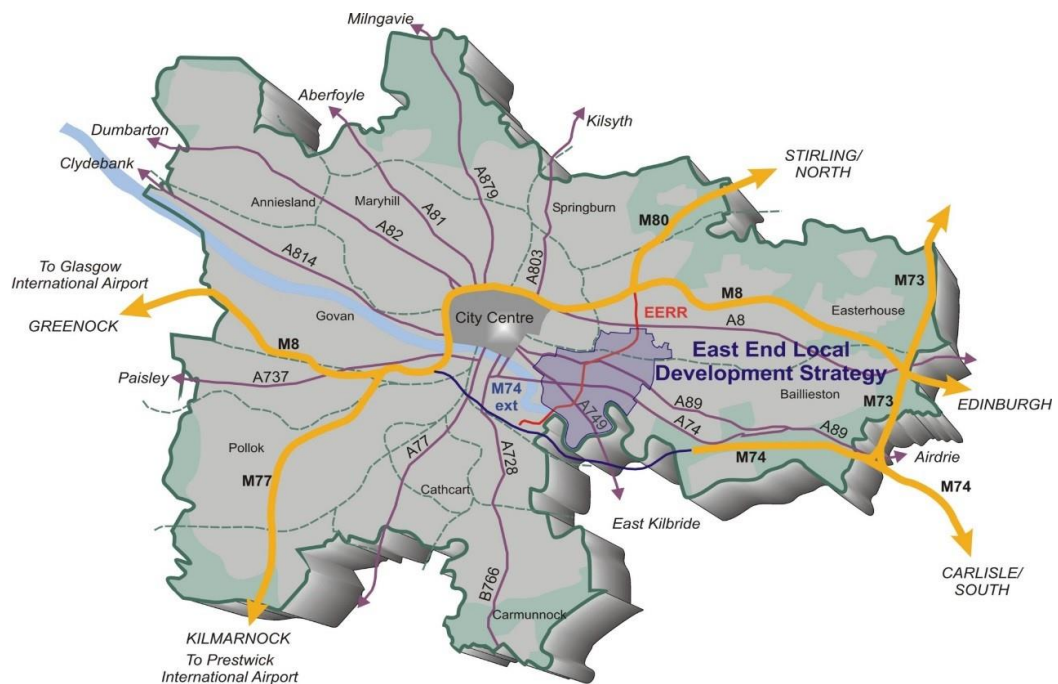
## 4.4 A Defining Moment for the East End

The cornerstone of Glasgow's bid to host the 2014 CWG was the regeneration of its East End, characterised as a 'turning point' for this disadvantaged part of the city. This aim is explored more fully below, but first, there needs to be greater clarity and precision around spatial terminology. The problem is that there is no single bounded entity used consistently to delineate this geographical area of Glasgow. Instead, a range of convenient administrative spatial units of varying size, such as electoral wards, postcode sectors or service territories, are variously used. At its broadest level, the Scottish Public Health Observatory refers to the 'North East Community', an area accounting for a population of 177,649 people; whilst the GCPH denotes the East of Glasgow, with a population of 124,000, as the area corresponding most closely to one of the ten Community Health (and Care) Partnerships within NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde. Given the focus of this study, there is especial interest in the *inner* East End which is located in the immediate vicinity of the major 2014-related

infrastructural developments. Consequently, the East End in this study is understood to correspond with that of GoWell East, the ‘small area’ research programme which is part of the overarching national evaluation of the Glasgow 2014 legacy<sup>11</sup> (Scottish Government, 2012b). The shaded area in Figure 4.1 delineates the area of interest, and shows it in relation to Glasgow City, while Figure 4.2 outlines the main neighbourhoods, which combined account for a population of almost 19,000 (Clark and Kearns, 2013).

#### 4.4.1 The ‘Problem’ with the East End

The East End, historically Glasgow’s industrial powerhouse, contributed significantly to the city’s reputation as the ‘second city of the Empire’. It was the location for Scotland’s largest steelworks, Parkhead Forge, which employed 20,000 people at its economic zenith (Parkhead History, Unknown). According to a local historian, Glasgow was reputed to have produced ‘three-quarters of the Empire’s ships, half its locomotives and huge amounts of other heavy industrial equipment’ (Mitchell, 2002). The subsequent decline of Empire brought with it a prolonged period of disinvestment and de-industrialisation in the area, with Parkhead Forge finally closing its doors in 1976 only to be replaced on the same site a decade later by The Forge Shopping Centre, bringing employment for 800 people in unskilled low-paid, and mainly part-time, retail jobs (Clyde Gateway 2012).

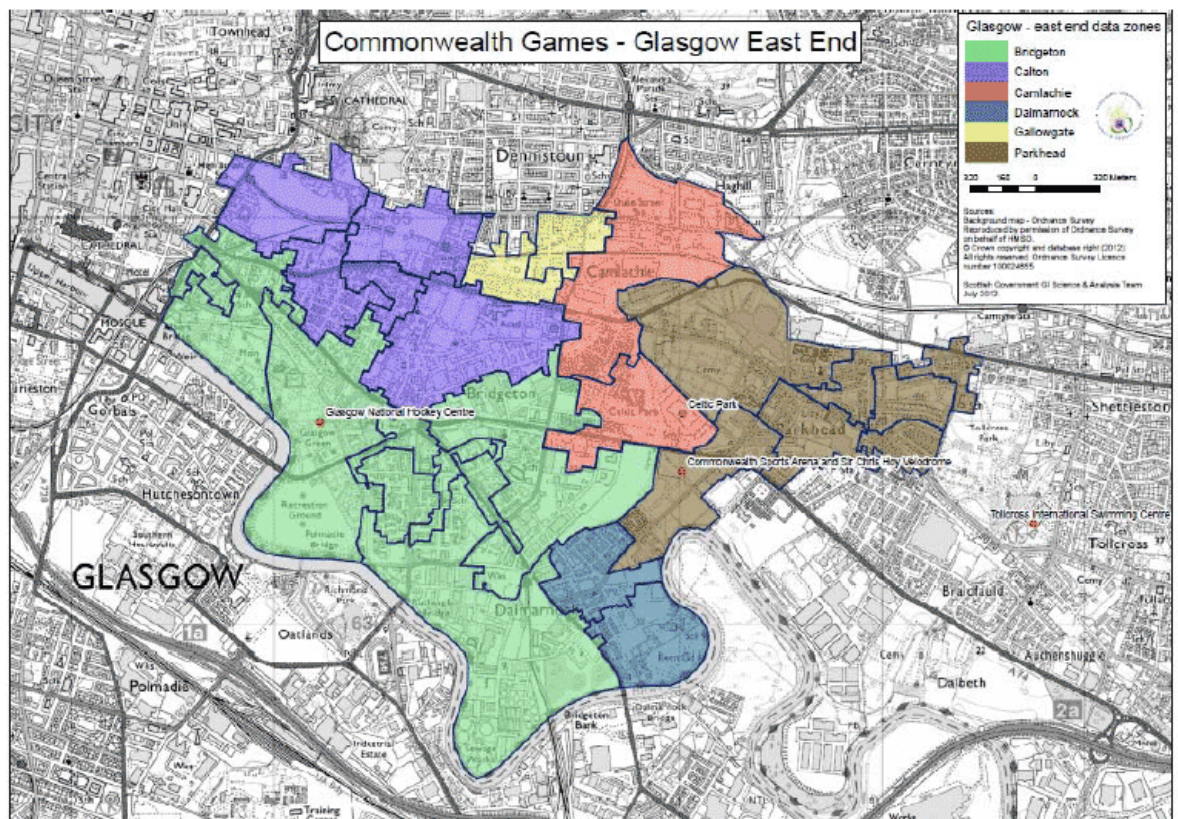


**Figure 4.1 Study Area in its City Context (source: Scottish Government)**

<sup>11</sup> The GoWell East study area corresponds with the boundaries of the existing GCC East End Local Development Strategy and includes six neighbourhoods, namely, Bridgeton, Calton, Carnlachie, Dalmarnock and Parkhead (part).

However, there is a temptation to characterise the Victorian and Edwardian periods as a ‘golden age’ for the East End, brought cruelly to an end in a bleak post-industrial world. More than a hint of nostalgia is apparent in the excerpt below from a *Guardian* journalist who grew up in the neighbourhood:

‘There is no echo of steel, no molten metal being fired, no forgings or armaments being hammered out in what was once the largest steelworks in Europe. Here on its site, the only clanking to be heard is the sound of zimmer frames hitting the tiles on a shopping centre floor.[ .].With its furnaces drawing in a workforce from across the country, the Parkhead Forge was the largest employer in the city. Now all that remains is the nomenclature, giving title to a down-at-heel shopping centre, a place that can often seem like a petri dish of everything that ails the East End of Glasgow’ (Gillan, 2012).



**Figure 4.2 The GoWell East End Study Area (source: Scottish Government)**

Yet a broader historical perspective suggests that the East End’s social problems are not a modern phenomenon. Contemporaneous public health reports underscore the dire effects of squalor, including poverty, epidemic disease, and overcrowding, as Glasgow struggled to cope with rapid urbanisation and population growth. Interestingly, spatial inequalities started to emerge at this time, reflecting a city which was fast becoming socially divided. While the more affluent population, including scholars of Glasgow University, migrated westwards to escape the smoke and smells of the inner city, the new working-class had no choice but to remain in the expanding and unwholesome suburbs in the east and south of the city. The





### 4.4.2 Growing Up in the East End

The social and spatial context in which young people are situated matters greatly insofar as it determines access to positive influences and exposure to damaging factors (Chapter 3). The following section examines the structured opportunities available to young people living in this deprived part of Glasgow.

Many young people in the East End are disadvantaged through poverty and parenting/carer problems which weaken the assets they might otherwise gain through the family, widely regarded in the literature as the primary social network for young people. Most importantly, family determines the supply of different capitals (economic, cultural, social) available to young people through their parents or carers. Mention has already been made of the East End's relative economic disadvantage. Across Glasgow North East, 25% of the adult population claim out-of-work benefits (Glasgow Centre for Population Health, 2014). However, this figure masks wide-ranging variations between individual neighbourhoods from 40.1% in Parkhead and Dalmarnock to 17% in the more affluent Dennistoun. When compared to Glasgow as a whole, young people in the North East of the city are also more likely to live in 'income deprived' households (24%) or to live in poverty (36.8%). Single parent households make up 45% of all households with dependent children, placing additional financial pressure on families. Other aspects of the familial situation are influential in shaping life opportunities. Glasgow stands out as having the highest rates of 'looked after'<sup>12</sup> children in Scotland, with the statistics for 2013/14 showing that 3.0% of the 0-17 population were looked after in Glasgow compared to a national figure of 2.4% (Scottish Government, 2015a). Moreover, modelled estimates suggest that 3.1% of all children in Glasgow aged 0-15 years live with a 'problem drug use' parent and 3.4% with a 'problem alcohol use' parent. On both counts, the East of Glasgow shows above average levels of 5.3% and 5.7% (Hanlon et al., 2006). Finally, there is a strong correlation between deprivation and teenage pregnancy. In the under 20 age group, a teenage female living in the most deprived area is 4.8 times as likely to experience a pregnancy as someone living in the least deprived area and nearly 12 times as likely to deliver their baby (ISD Scotland, 2015).

The wider social and physical environment determines the opportunities available to young people for social interaction (Forrest and Kearns, 1999). Empirical studies have confirmed

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<sup>12</sup> The term 'looked after children and young people' is generally used to mean those looked after by the state. It includes those who are subject to a care order or temporarily classed as looked after on a planned basis for short breaks or respite care and is expressed as a percentage of the 0-17 population.

the strong relationship which exists between territoriality and disadvantaged areas (Deuchar and Holligan, 2008, Fraser, 2013, Jephcott, 1967, Kintrea et al., 2008) and the adverse impact of these on young people's spatial mobility. In their study of anti-social behaviour in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Glasgow, Neary et al. (2013) found that spatial marginalisation was an aspect of young people's everyday lives. Awareness of territoriality meant that some young people avoided certain places, while some parents placed greater restrictions on their children's spatial autonomy. Baseline figures for the GoWell East survey found that, in 2012, 32% of adult respondents felt 'fairly unsafe' or 'unsafe' walking alone in the area after dark. While this figure was in line with other deprived areas of the city, it was higher than that for Glasgow and Scotland (Clark and Kearns, 2013). Interestingly, more recent data show a marked improvement in feelings of neighbourhood safety, together with a notable rise in perception of a positive neighbourhood, itself an important psychosocial indicator related to wellbeing (Cleland et al., 2015, Smith et al., 2015).

Regarding the physical environment, Glasgow was found to have 1,171 hectares of vacant and derelict land in 2014, representing 11% of the total area of the city (Scottish Government, 2015f). Vacant and derelict land, some of it contaminated, represents an environmental burden and a blight on the landscape. In Glasgow North East, a large majority of people (76.8%) live within 500m of vacant or derelict land. At a neighbourhood level, a sliding scale of proximity to vacant and derelict land was evident, with the most recent data indicating that 100% of people in Parkhead and Dalmarnock live within 500m of vacant and derelict land, compared to 98.1% for Calton and Bridgeton, 88.4% for Haghill and Carntyne, and 53.2% in Dennistoun (Glasgow Centre for Population Health, 2014). Residents' perceptions of vacant and derelict land and buildings are captured within the GoWell East longitudinal study. At the 2012 baseline, 56% of the cohort reported that vacant or derelict buildings and land sites were a 'slight' or 'serious problem' in their local neighbourhood; although, in the follow-up survey post-Games, this figure had fallen to 48% (Cleland et al., 2015).

The work undertaken by Macintyre (2007) focused on service provision. Measuring the availability and distance to 45 facilities and services in Glasgow City within multiple domains including schools, financial services, sport facilities and play areas, transport, culture and entertainment, she found that poorer areas were not disadvantaged in terms of restricted opportunities or fewer facilities. This finding led her to pose the question whether the presence or absence of resources might be less important than their quality and their social meaning. Citing an emerging literature conceptualising 'place effects' in terms of a

‘relational’ approach and suggesting a more differentiated and reciprocal relationship between ‘people’ and ‘place’, she emphasised the need for interventions to be designed in a way which would be ‘contextually sensitive’ to local social norms (Cummins et al., 2007). This is an interesting question in relation to new 2014-related facilities in the East End in terms of exploring the extent to which these might be regarded by local people as being ‘for them’.

### **4.4.3 Previous Regeneration Efforts**

The ‘intervention’ of Glasgow 2014 is not the first attempt to regenerate the East End of the city. Indeed, Scotland has a long history of place-based approaches towards regeneration stretching as far back as the late 1960s, including the Scottish Urban Programme (1969), New Life for Urban Scotland (1988-1999), Social Inclusion Partnerships (1999-2003), and from 2003 onwards, Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs). Taken as a whole, these programmes denote an evolutionary progression from a narrowly-defined and project-based approach to one based on a broader integrated framework and community engagement. (Scottish Government, 2015b).

#### **4.4.3.1 *Glasgow Eastern End Renewal (GEAR) Programme***

Prior to the CWG, the largest attempt to regenerate this corner of the city was the GEAR programme, which started in 1976 and ran until its official termination in 1987. This ambitious urban renewal programme involved an extensive partnership of public sector bodies and promised to deliver a rehabilitation of Glasgow’s East End. At that time, a sharp decline in skilled and semi-skilled employment had left behind a population who were disproportionately elderly, disabled, on low income, and with high morbidity and mortality rates. The programme’s objectives were uniquely comprehensive, incorporating economic regeneration, environmental improvements, as well as social renewal. However, despite its lofty ambitions, independent evaluations and expert opinions of the programme have been largely critical in their assessment of GEAR. Wannop (1990), claiming that GEAR ‘worked much better than might have been expected, despite various irritations’, concluded that its achievements were mostly in physical renewal and that its social objectives were ‘too vague and unachievable’ and its public involvement merely ‘tokenist and inadequate’ (p.474).



#### 4.4.3.2 *Urban Regeneration Companies (URCs)*

Recent Scottish regeneration policy has witnessed a new development with the introduction of URCs, part of a UK-wide initiative to release the potential of ‘underperforming places and communities’ (Shiel and Smith-Milne, 2007). These companies have been established as formal partnerships of key representatives from both public and private sectors, with promoting social inclusion central to their ambitions, as evidenced by the following extract from official ‘best practice’ guidance:

‘...a particularly refreshing feature of Scottish regeneration policy is its commitment to spreading the benefits of urban renewal – as opposed to simply creating conditions for physical regeneration. Indeed, so strong is this commitment that URCs are each working hard to ensure that their programmes and investments yield more than just bricks and mortar – but also substantial changes in economic profile, opportunity and social and economic inclusion’ (Shiel and Smith-Milne, 2007 p.46).

Clyde Gateway, one of six URCs in Scotland, was formally established in 2007 following the announcement of Glasgow’s successful CWG bid, and is an integral delivery agency for the East End Local Development Strategy, *Changing Places; Changing Lives*. Clyde Gateway is charged with achieving the following three aims: increased economic activity and job opportunities; sustainable place transformation; and improved community capacity. According to a representative of Clyde Gateway, considerable time and effort has been invested by them in gaining support from cynical communities who had ‘heard it all before’ (Clyde Gateway, 2012). Face-to-face meetings with residents (‘no meeting was too small’) were organised in the early days to identify local priorities, identified as employment, the removal of local eyesores, and a renewed sense of pride. The headline message from early community engagement was that local people were wary of regeneration promises which subsequently could not be delivered.

Whilst there are similarities between GEAR and Clyde Gateway (long-term timeframe; broad objectives; national and local collaboration), there are two important differences. Firstly, while GEAR was an entirely public sector undertaking, Clyde Gateway follows the contemporary blueprint in policy-making with its establishment as a public-private enterprise, simultaneously maximising the use of public assets, including land, whilst acting as a catalyst for private sector development. However, the most significant difference between the two relates to the tools available to meet their objectives. With Glasgow 2014, Clyde Gateway has a potential catalyst towards achieving its regeneration objectives for the East End. The ‘added value’ of the Games is regarded by the organisation as extending

beyond new or enhanced sports facilities to include a wide range of benefits for the hosting epicentre, namely wider infrastructural development, training and employment opportunities, incremental social housing, and community engagement (Clyde Gateway, 2015).

#### **4.4.4 The Dialectics of Social Inclusion**

The increased attention towards social inclusion within the most recent waves of regeneration policy has been noted. While this is undoubtedly a welcome development, there has been little critical scrutiny of the underpinning assumptions and value judgements. There are two different paradigms in play: one which reflects a (market-led) neo-liberal ideology; and the other, an (asset-based) community development approach. It will be shown below that both perspectives have been criticised in the literature for diverting attention away from the root causes of the social problems in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, articulated as structural or systemic inequalities in income, wealth, and power.

In accordance with a neo-liberal perspective, a sporting event's core objective might be construed as the cultivation and transformation of local aspirations and identities in order to 'mainstream' the East End towards the 'norms' of economic growth and prosperity in the wider city. This intention is characterised by some scholars as a form of social engineering insofar as it characterises the East End as a stubborn 'final frontier in a city that has been heralded in recent decades as a model of successful post-industrial transformation' (Gray and Mooney, 2011 p.4). The same 'social integrationist' discourse (Levitas, 1998) was embodied within London 2012's Convergence Framework, defined as the process of developing 'successful neighbourhoods' in respect of the six host boroughs in the East End (Growth Boroughs, Unknown). Thompson et al. (2013) were critical of the narratives associated with London 2012 which presented East London as a 'problem' in need of a regeneration 'solution' which the OG hosting uniquely could deliver. Paton et al. (2012) condemn such discourses because they imply inherent deficiencies or failings on the part of disadvantaged populations and the neighbourhoods they reside in. According to the authors, Glasgow 2014 is a 'form of urban re-structuring borne out of neo-liberalism, involving two key components of governance: the market-led strategies of the state, and the expansion of individual participation and citizenship via consumption' (p.1472). The consequence is that only those who have the resources to do so can participate. Indeed, Hall (2006) asserts that the expansion of consumer society with its relentless drive for the acquisition of material goods inevitably involves the marginalisation of those on low incomes: 'the benefits [from

sporting events] are not there for those unable (or dis-inclined) to present themselves as consumers' (p.86).

An assets-based approach, drawing on a community development tradition, has gained greater currency in recent public policy. At first glance, this would seem to represent a more positive 'glass half-full' approach which focuses instead on strengthening and nurturing the attributes and strengths already present within communities. Nevertheless, this approach has also attracted criticism. For example, Friedli (2012) asserts that policymakers, in merely focusing on palliative measures or coping strategies, are privileging non-material individual and collective attributes (self-esteem, self-efficacy, aspiration, skills and social capital), thereby side-stepping fundamental questions about power and privilege. Other scholars strike a similarly negative note, arguing that there is no point in encouraging collective action amongst the local population unless opportunity structures are profoundly changed at the same time (Forrest and Kearns, 1999).

The current wave of Scottish regeneration policy might be regarded as an attempt to reconcile these two discourses. In its highly publicised adoption of a 'whole new approach to regeneration', Clyde Gateway is pursuing a community development approach within an overarching market-led strategy. A recent Clyde Gateway newsletter affirms that:

'The best assets in all of Clyde Gateway are our people and places. From the start, we wanted to become involved with local residents in a joint effort to regenerate our historical communities. We have said repeatedly since our inception that physical change on its own is not enough to achieve success. With people at the heart of our ambitious plans, social and economic change is equally important. This means that Clyde Gateway must be pro-active in identifying new opportunities for residents - as well as listening and responding to their wishes and needs' (Clyde Gateway, 2015).

To illustrate this last point, various urban improvement projects, such as the refurbishment of Bridgeton Cross, have been delivered in direct response to community requests and sit alongside other more typical business initiatives such as modern office developments.

In summary, planned changes for the East End, prompted by the catalyst of the Glasgow CWG, might indeed be thought to represent a defining moment for the locality. This vision resonates with one of the conceptualisations of major sports events proposed by Smith (2009) as 'sources of hope, symbols of change and prototypes for a new way of living' (p.114). The promise made by city leaders is that progress would be accelerated towards the creation of a 'vibrant, new city district...based on reinvention and reconnection' (Glasgow

City Council, 2008a). In the following section, attention is given to what this means potentially for young people in the East End, with reference to their socio-spatial horizons.

## 4.5 Expanding Young People's Horizons

In Chapter 2, it was noted that young people occupied a special place in legacy ambitions generally. Indeed, young people assumed a starring role in the bid presentation for London 2012, featuring as one of six legacy 'promises' under the winning guise of 'inspiring a generation of young people' (DCMS, 2008 p.42). Whilst young people were not as pivotal to the winning of the Glasgow 2014 bid as they evidently were for London 2012, the official legacy documents for Scotland and Glasgow build on the youth-related ambitions outlined earlier in the national consultation document (see 4.3.3). The discourse in the official legacy plans relates to capitalising on the 'unique moment' of the Games to accelerate progress on social and cultural outcomes. Central to the latter is the intended broadening of young people's horizons: 'everyone, particularly our young people, will know about Scotland's place in the world and embrace what the world has to offer' (Scottish Government, 2009 p.21). More specifically, the stated ambition is that young people will be encouraged through the various 2014-themed programmes to engage in their local communities, defined variously as joining a sports club or other activity-based association; volunteering as a sports leader, coach, or youth ambassador; or becoming more actively involved in local issues. In the school setting, the 2014 Games is intended to be used as a stimulus for cross-curricular learning in support of achieving the four Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) capacities<sup>13</sup>. Beyond education, the 2014 CWG also promises to enhance the employability of young people as a result of the greater number of volunteering and training opportunities available in direct consequence of hosting the 2014 CWG. Finally, the Glasgow legacy plan makes specific reference to new 2014-related sporting facilities in the East End as an important contributory factor in increasing sports participation among young people.

The official legacy website hosted by the SG (Scottish Government, 2015d) and information supplied to the researcher by GCC (Glasgow City Council, 2013) indicate a substantive legacy programme. Involving 45 national and 88 city-wide legacy projects at the latest count, these present a heterogeneous collection, incorporating a mix of strategies (e.g. Glasgow Cycling Strategy, Physical Activity Implementation Plan); infrastructure (e.g. sports facilities); grant funding (e.g. Active Places Fund); employer incentives (Employer

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<sup>13</sup> Defined within CfE as 'Successful Learners', 'Effective Contributors', 'Responsible Citizens' and 'Confident Individuals'.

Recruitment Incentive); organisations (e.g. Clyde Gateway); and events (e.g. Great Scottish Run, Schools Baton Relay). Collectively, these legacy projects are intended to provide numerous leveraging opportunities for individuals, groups, schools, communities, organisations and businesses to engage with Glasgow 2014.

Whilst the majority of them are relevant to whole populations, including young people, a significant proportion of them are targeted at young people exclusively. As Table 4.1 shows, the majority of these come under the 'Active Scotland' or equivalent 'Active Glasgow' thematic headings; however, it was anticipated that many of these would be delivered within the school setting under the 'Connected Scotland' or 'Inclusive Glasgow' banners. Beyond these, several youth-related initiatives are categorised within the 'Flourishing Scotland' or 'Prosperous Glasgow' respectively with their stated objective of enhancing the employability prospects of young people not in education, employment or training (NEETs).

While some programmes are brand new and have been developed as a result of Glasgow hosting the Games, many others are existing projects which use the Games as an opportunity to protect, strengthen or re-focus their activities. Although this is fully in accord with the evidence base which recommends that programmes should be aligned or embedded within existing regeneration, culture and health strategies (Weed et al., 2009), it makes the attribution of outcomes to legacy initiatives challenging (Chappelet 2012). For this reason, the official evaluation plan for Glasgow 2014 stated its intention to assess the contribution made by different programmes using evidence available from regular and bespoke data collection. This approach assumes that the underpinning logic and expected 'pathways of change' for individual programmes will be made explicit (Scottish Government, 2012b).

A key finding in the legacy literature was that the concept of legacy was under-theorised (Coalter, 2004, McCartney, 2010, Murphy and Bauman, 2007). A 'theory of change' approach uses Logic Models (LMs) in diagrammatic form or frameworks to make explicit the causal intention and orientation of programmes including: the activities involved; the deliverable outputs; expected intermediate effects; and subsequent impacts, together with any underlying assumptions (Connell and Kubisch, 1998, Mackenzie and Blamey, 2005, Rogers, 2008).

The development of a theory of change was useful to this study for two reasons. First, it helped manage the complexity inherent within the Glasgow 2014 intervention. As such, it provided a useful navigation tool which brought together the diverse streams of activity

within one single conceptual model, helping to maintain a focus on the ‘big picture’ whilst at the same time acknowledging its constituent parts. The second advantage of developing a LM was that it encouraged thinking about the mechanisms or change pathways which might be predicted to work towards the desired outcomes. LMs have been criticised for oversimplifying complexity or distorting reality in their assumption of linearity (Mackenzie and Blamey, 2005, Rogers, 2008); however, their utility in this instance was not intended as a detailed logic model for planning or evaluation purposes, but rather as a heuristic framework to contain interim hypotheses for subsequent empirical testing and refinement.

How then might a theory of change be developed for this study? From the outset, it was important to acknowledge the distance from the approach recommended for uncovering a theory of change (Mackenzie and Blamey, 2005). In this study, the ‘gold standard’ of working prospectively with key stakeholders involved in the planning and delivery of projects in a collective and collaborative endeavour was not achievable, given the range of stakeholders involved, the complexity of the intervention, and the resources available. A further challenge was the fact that the outcome of interest in this study was unlikely to be a primary consideration for all the relevant stakeholders. To illustrate this point, those working in health might view increased physical activity as their ultimate goal, whereas the sport sector would most likely be interested in physical literacy and pathways towards elite performance. In education, learning outcomes would be paramount. In most instances, expanded horizons was most likely a secondary consideration or a by-product. Notwithstanding, careful thought was given to satisfying the quality criteria proposed by Connell and Kubisch (1998) in relation to plausibility, testability, and do-ability.

An ‘Ideal World’ Horizons LM is proposed in Figure 4.4. The underpinning assumptions were informed by the theories discussed in Chapter 3, namely ‘social capital’, which underscores the influence of social networks and social norms in shaping future aspirations; and ‘place attachment’ which has implications for young people’s future choices and spatial mobility. For young people living in the East End, the ‘problem’ was articulated as a tendency towards ‘bonded’ social networks and territorial behaviour which serve to constrain horizons. In terms of ‘opportunity’, the literature calls on policymakers to broaden young people’s horizons by developing initiatives, which cut across multiple policy strands, including place regeneration, economic development, transport, education and skills, and careers guidance (Green and White, 2007).

Official legacy documentation and known legacy initiatives were synthesised to reveal the following four hypothesised 2014-related mechanisms, through which the desired outcome of expanded horizons, shown on the right-hand side of the LM, might conceivably be achieved:

- **Place Transformation:** the LM assumes that the construction of world class sporting facilities would encourage young people to take up new sporting interests and join new clubs; that the enhanced transport infrastructure would provide more opportunities for young people to visit unfamiliar places; and that the improved physical appearance of the East End would engender greater local pride, in turn increasing self-esteem and promoting a more positive outlook on life;
- **Participation & Engagement:** the LM conjectures that Glasgow 2014 would bring onto the radar of young people unparalleled opportunities for new social encounters and new social experiences, thereby encouraging a broader perspective on life;
- **Inspiration:** insofar as the Glasgow 2014 hosting would most likely bring non-residents into the East End, the assumption is that young people would be exposed to heterogeneous groups (tourists; athletes) who would serve as role models and provide glimpses into a bigger world of opportunities. Local young people selected as Youth Legacy Ambassadors, Young Sports Ambassadors and Baton Holders as part of the Glasgow 2014 legacy programme (see Table 4.1) would fulfil the same function;
- **Education & Learning:** the LM assumes that a school-based legacy programme would introduce new learning opportunities around the Commonwealth and bring new or enhanced recognition of Scotland's place in the global world and an appreciation of other people's cultures.

Nevertheless, there remain several 'known unknowns' (Horne, 2007). The first is that the activities represent what is currently available on the supply side of the equation. Critically, current policy rhetoric assumes a 'fully engaged' scenario and says nothing about the demand for these activities, whether from key intermediaries (teachers; youth workers; sports coaches) or end beneficiaries (young people). Realist evaluation underscores the importance of explaining programmes within a 'context-mechanism-outcome' (CMO) configuration (Pawson and Tilley, 2004). In practice, it is likely that the 'dosage' or degree

of exposure will be determined by a number of contextual variables, which might either enhance or detract from outcomes being achieved as intended: the relevance of the various legacy-related activities to the needs and interests of young people; their geographical reach; and the scale of operations. A second unknown relates to any unintended and adverse consequences which might arise. These are conjectured within an alternative LM based on a 'Worst Case' scenario (Figure 4.5). Finally, the model cannot adequately convey the unique energising proposition of Glasgow 2014. The call to join in 'Glasgow's biggest party' has something of the drumroll of the 'circus' and highlights its capacity to mobilise partnerships, drive synergies across multiple sectors and coalesce diverse activities under one single thematic banner.

## 4.6 Chapter Summary

While the 2014 CWG represents the third time that Scotland has hosted this major sporting event, it is the first time for Glasgow, its largest city. Notably, Glasgow 2014 is the first CWG to place legacy intentionally at the centre of its plans and, in its planning at least, appears to have made a concerted endeavour to incorporate several of the key messages from emerging evidence and best practice, the latter arising from the test bed of London 2012. Young people in the East End are theoretically well placed to reap significant benefits by virtue of their residence in the core hosting zone, which will have witnessed the greatest concentration of efforts and physical transformation. However, the extent to which new opportunities and resources succeed in triggering the desired responses will depend on contextual variables, including not only the design and delivery of the various 2014-related programmes and projects, but also the particular characteristics and circumstances of the young people themselves.

Given that the legacy literature calls on policymakers to make explicit their 'theories of change' (and none exists), this chapter concludes with two hypothesised LMs. The 'ideal world' scenario identifies the salient mechanisms within legacy planning which, singly or in combination, might conceivably work towards achieving the desired outcome of 'expanded horizons' for young people. Mindful of the potential for harmful or unintended consequences, a 'worst case' permutation is also available. Throughout this investigation, these two models will help maintain a steady focus on context, mechanisms, and outcomes.



GLASGOW 2014 Legacy Programmes: Young People					
Legacy Theme	Project Name	Project Description	Mechanism	Spatial Reach and Scale	Lead Organisations & Partners
Active	Champions in Schools	Athletes used as role models and in the classroom to deliver a series of inspirational workshops to 10-15 year olds on life-long benefits of sport, including following themes: healthy and active lifestyle; appreciation and value of hard work; setting and achieving goals; adoption of a 'positive winning attitude'.	Inspiration	National target given as 10,000	Winning Scotland Foundation
Active	Lead 2014	Young people (14 years and older) to attend one of seven regional conferences held annually at universities across the country. Secondary schools are invited to select a team of up to eight young potential leaders to attend the conference, which will be focused on developing leadership and volunteering skills. During the conference, university students will lead a workshop for these young people, who will learn event management skills enabling them to organise and deliver Commonwealth Games-themed sport festivals within their own school community. See also Young Ambassadors.	Education & Learning	2014 was the fourth, and final, year of this programme, with conferences taking place in 7 Scottish universities	sportscotland; Youth Sport Trust; Glasgow 2014 Organising Committee.

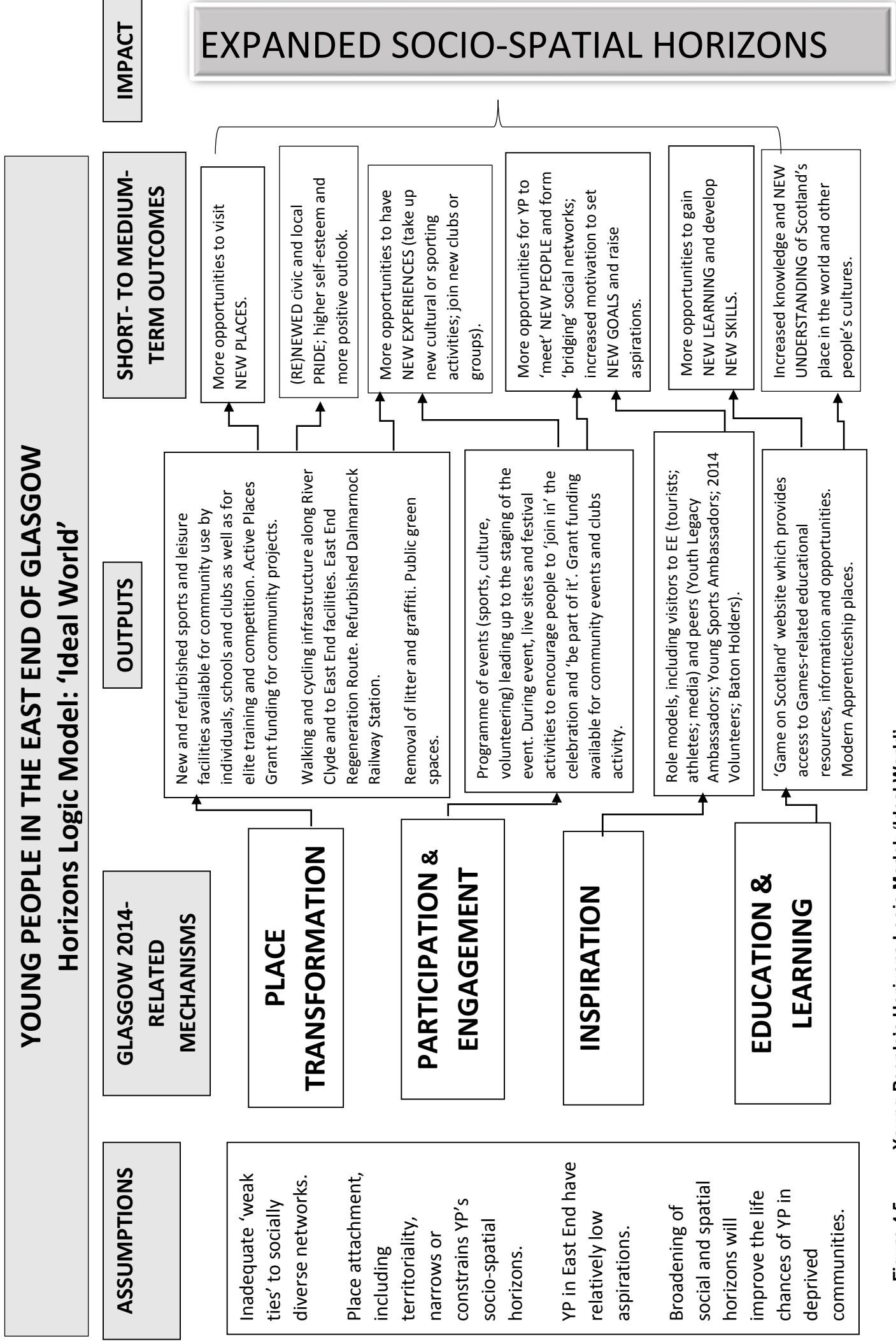
GLASGOW 2014 Legacy Programmes: Young People					
Legacy Theme	Project Name	Project Description	Mechanism	Spatial Reach and Scale	Lead Organisations & Partners
Active	Active East	There are two strands: increased access to physical activity and sport opportunities; and leadership capacity building. The former involves grants of up to £3000 to local groups who want to introduce new physical activity sessions for young people, aged 5 and over; while the latter is aimed at young people (14-25 years old) who want to become Active Champions, who will undertake to complete one of the following three options: complete a voluntary placement in the group; undertake a leadership role in the group' or, for those with some prior experience, take on a voluntary leadership role in the wider community. This can include taking a college course on transferable skills such as health and first aid, admin/organising activities, sports journalism, consulting with young people.	Participation & Engagement	East End of Glasgow. Nos. restricted by capacity of 50 Active Champions and number of grants issued capped by funding allocation	The Robertson Trust; Sport Relief; Big Lottery
Active	Young Ambassadors	Launched in 2009, Young Ambassadors is a programme that encourages nominated 14-17 year-olds to take the lead in encouraging greater sports participation and awareness of the benefits of sport in their own schools.	Inspiration	National	sportscotland; Youth Sports Trust
Active	Young People's Sports Panel	Establishment of a national platform to give young sportspeople a voice in the development of a future Scottish sports strategy - including raising the profile of school sports, making PE in schools more enjoyable and achieving better links with local sports clubs.	Participation	16 members to be recruited to the panel	sportscotland

GLASGOW 2014 Legacy Programmes: Young People (cont'd)					
Legacy Theme	Project Name	Project Description	Mechanism	Spatial Reach and Scale	Lead Organisations & Partners
Active	Legacy 2014 Active Places Fund	£10 million fund for community projects to help create or improve places where local people can go to get active, like new skate parks, outdoor adventure facilities and walking routes. Grants of between £10,000 and £100,000 available to help contribute to the costs to create or upgrade a facility, space or place.	Place Transformation	National. Applications until February 2015	sportscotland
Active	Community Sports Hubs	Community Sport Hubs (CSHs) are based in local facilities such as sport centres, community centres, club pavilions, the natural environment and/or schools, and will bring local people together and provide a home for local clubs and sports organisations.	Participation & Engagement	National with 2016 target of 150 CSHs by 2016. 50% of all CSHs to be in schools.	sportscotland in partnership with all 32 Local Authorities
Active	BIG 2014 Communities	Provides grants of between £300 and £2,000 to encourage more people to take part in physical activity. Open to voluntary and community sector organisations, sector organisations, community councils and schools.	Participation & Engagement	National. Funding programme open until at least 2014.	BIG Lottery Fund Scotland

GLASGOW 2014 Legacy Programmes: Young People (cont'd)					
Legacy Theme	Project Name	Project Description	Mechanism	Spatial Reach and Scale	Lead Organisations & Partners
Active	Street Soccer Scotland	Street Soccer Scotland is a non-profit social enterprise that delivers a range of football related services to socially disadvantaged adults and young people.	Participation & Engagement	4 cities - Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen	Street Soccer Scotland
Connected	Inspire> Aspire	This programme invites young people to reflect on their personal values and qualities, identify an inspirational person in their lives, and finally develop a personal plan of action inspired by these same values.	Inspiration	National	Character Scotland
Connected	Support a Second Team	Schools within each local authority encouraged to get behind the team of another CW country and cheer them on.	Education	All LAs to link with at least 1 CW country or territory by 2014. Relationship expected to continue beyond the Games	<b>sportscotland;</b> Glasgow 2014 OC; Education Scotland; Commonwealth Games Associations and local partners

GLASGOW 2014 Legacy Programmes: Young People (cont'd)					
Legacy Theme	Project Name	Project Description	Mechanism	Reach and Scale	Lead Organisations
		Support for practitioners in developing cross-curricular learning experiences and engagement opportunities using the Commonwealth Games as stimulus. Includes website which serves as a 'one-stop-shop' through which Games-related educational resources, information and opportunities can be accessed. Includes Mascot visits and other initiatives including Malawi Young Leaders of Learning and events such as Schools' Baton Relay.	Education & Learning	National	Scottish Government, Education Scotland, the Glasgow 2014 OC, and GCC
<b>Connected</b>	<b>Game on Scotland</b>				
<b>Connected</b>	<b>Youth Legacy Ambassadors (YLAs)</b>	Selection of young people to champion 2014 legacy to other young people and their local community. The YLAs will have media and public speaking training to support them in this ambassadorial role.	Inspiration	Target is 100 nationally, with at least 2 in each LA	Young Scot working with LAs
<b>Flourishing</b>	<b>CW Apprenticeships</b>	This initiative assists suitably-qualified school-leavers to find apprenticeship opportunities in both the public and private sectors.	Education & Learning	Glasgow	GCC
<b>Flourishing</b>	<b>Modern Apprenticeships (MAs)</b>	£5 million Legacy Fund launched in 2012 to support employability and employment. Includes £1500 incentive to employers for offering opportunities for 16-24 year olds to have MAs within sport, retail, events management and hospitality sectors.	Education & Learning	National. Annual target is 25,000 places	Skills Development Scotland and contracted training providers
<b>Flourishing</b>	<b>CW Youth Fund</b>	Provides funding to SMEs to cover 50% wage subsidy and training to support young people who are not suitable for a MA into employment.	Education & Learning	Glasgow	GCC

Table 4.1 Glasgow 2014 Legacy Programmes for Young People (source: Glasgow City Council)



**Figure 4.5** Young People's Horizons Logic Model: 'Ideal World'

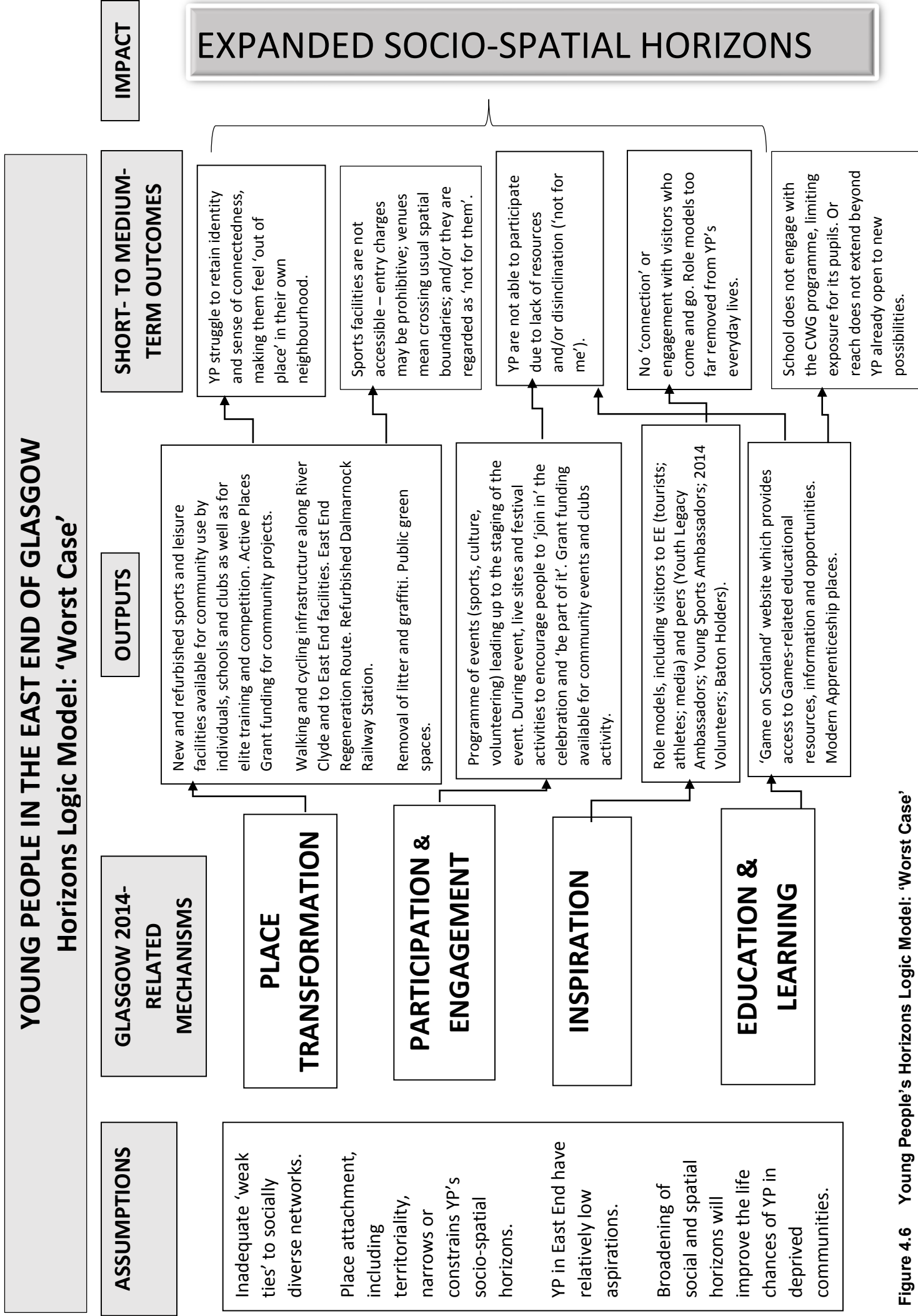


Figure 4.6 Young People's Horizons Logic Model: 'Worst Case'

## Chapter 5 Testing the Hypothesis

### 5.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter marks the point at which the theorised pathways of change outlined in Chapter 4 are operationalised and ‘tested’ by means of empirical research. There are five main areas of interest here. The first part identifies the key research questions in this study and provides the rationale for the chosen research strategy. The two methodological issues central to this study - the study of change; and conducting research with young people - are examined next with a consideration of the design implications for the study. Discussion then moves onto the selection of the most appropriate methods for data generation and the practical measures taken regarding: setting and location; sampling and recruitment; and choice of research instruments. Although ethical matters are addressed throughout the chapter, the following section highlights particular concerns which pertain specifically to the nature of this investigation. The chapter concludes with a detailed and reflexive account of the approach taken with regard to managing and interpreting the data collected.

### 5.2 Research Strategy

The selection of a research approach embodies the essence of the inquiry, determines its broad orientation and conduct, and informs a series of subsequent decisions regarding research design, research methods, and data analysis and interpretation (Bryman, 2012). It is therefore a decision not to be taken lightly.

Mason (2003) argues that researchers should frame the essence of their research around a combination of ‘intellectual puzzles’ (p.14). The aim of this research is to investigate how young people living in the East End of Glasgow relate to, and are impacted upon, by the 2014 CWG and its associated developments and activities, with specific reference to their socio-spatial horizons. Whilst this aim suggests a ‘causal’ puzzle in terms of ascertaining the extent to which hosting the 2014 Games is considered to expand these horizons (the ‘what’), it also incorporates a ‘mechanical’ puzzle insofar as it seeks to provide social explanations for empirically observed changes (the ‘how’; and the ‘why’).

The research questions overleaf are aligned with the ontological and epistemological stance outlined in Chapter 1, which assumes the existence of an objective reality alongside subjective interpretations of this reality (Pawson and Tilley, 2004, Westthorp et al., 2011).



- What meanings and significance do young people, individually and collectively, attach to the hosting of the CWG in their local area?
- What are the main underlying mechanisms or critical pathways which might provide opportunities or barriers, directly or indirectly, for young people to expand their social networks and to encourage young people to undertake activities or seek opportunities beyond their usual spatial boundaries?
- To what extent have young people engaged with the various cultural and sporting initiatives leading up to the CWG, and including the event itself? What are the main contextual influences which might account for their different levels of engagement?
- What are the perceived legacy impacts on young people's horizons, and how are these articulated with regard to their identity; their sense of belonging; and their future aspirations and expectations?

An important first step in the selection of the most appropriate methodology was to appraise the different research strategies in terms of their relative strengths and weaknesses. This was based on the premise that either a quantitative or qualitative strategy, or a combination of these within a mixed methods approach, would be technically feasible. For example, a quantitative approach might use a cross-sectional design to collect data in order to measure variables of choice (e.g. prevalence of a range of attitudes towards the hosting of Glasgow 2014; levels of engagement with the event itself; changes in club membership) and to identify correlations (e.g. between observed attitudes and independent variables such as gender, ethnicity, or levels of sports participation). Notably, the use of a statistically representative sample of young people would enable generalisations to be made to a wider population, therewith bringing external validity to the findings. On the other hand, a qualitative approach might use interviews or focus groups to probe beneath surface patterns to gather rich and nuanced data in an attempt to capture the complexity of the lived realities of young people and to understand their actions and their social world from their point of view - in short, 'seeing the world through the eyes of research participants' (Bryman, 2012 p.380). Finally, and setting aside well-rehearsed epistemological arguments about their compatibility (Mason, 2003, Smith and Heshusius, 1986), a mixed methods approach would use both strategies, quantitative and qualitative, from amongst an extensive range of possibilities (Bryman, 2012).

The specific requirements of this study make a qualitative approach the strategy of choice for this study. Arguably, the most striking feature of the research topic was the absence of *a priori* knowledge about the mechanisms associated with the outcome of interest and the social processes involved. Indeed, Chapter 2 characterised the conceptual terrain as ‘uncharted territory’ and the pursuit of legacy as a ‘leap of faith’. Faced with such ‘known unknowns’ (Horne, 2007), a qualitative strategy was judged best placed to facilitate the exploration of hypothesised mechanisms (Westhorp et al., 2011). At the same time, the structured nature of quantitative research with its use of standardised questions and units of measurement was regarded as unsuitable for the research task. A particular concern was the absence of universally agreed indicators within the current body of knowledge which might be used to operationalise the conceptual foundations of this research, namely, ‘legacy’; ‘social capital’; and ‘place attachment’.

A qualitative approach allows for the social dimension to be studied from an individual or micro-level perspective, characterised as looking through the telescope from the individual ‘upwards’, in contrast to the ‘downwards’ or macro view privileged in large-scale surveys. Indeed, a distinctive strength of qualitative research lies in its habitual concern with a situated and contextual understanding of people’s lives, giving the methodology its ‘explanatory edge’ (Mason, 2006 p.16). However, ‘context’ can mean different things to different people (Marchal et al., 2012). Mason (2006) attests that ‘there will be paradigm differences because context is a theoretical concept, and a disputed one, and how it is seen will speak of the researcher’s theoretical orientation’ (p.19). In this study, context was conceptualised as beyond the mutual antagonism within the well-rehearsed structure/agency dualism. Rather, it was understood in a relational sense with an emphasis on the constant interplay and interconnectedness at all levels between social agents and their wider social and physical environments (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Of primary interest was the experiences and attitudes of young people; their family circumstances; their social networks; their school ethos; the places and spaces inhabited by them; and the prevalent social norms and expectations in their neighbourhoods, together with an examination of the influence of these on the outcome of socio-spatial horizons.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to acknowledge the limitations of a qualitative strategy from the outset. The most common criticism is its restricted capability of generalisation to other contexts and social settings (Bryman, 2012, Mason, 2006). This perceived limitation is mainly derived from its tendency towards small numbers of participants and its concentration on the singularity of settings - in short, achieving depth at the expense of

breadth. However, whilst qualitative sampling strategies do not purport to be statistically representative, they claim nonetheless to have theoretical generalisation in their sight. Bourdieu (1999) observed that ‘the perfectly commendable wish to go see things in person, close up, sometimes leads people to search for the explanatory principles of observed realities where they are not to be found....namely at the site of observation itself’ (p.181). Similarly, in the words of Bryman (2012), it is the ‘quality of the theoretical inferences that are made out of qualitative data that is crucial to the assessment of generalisation’ (p.406). Mason (2003) usefully suggests a range of generalising strategies, discussed later, which might be employed to extend the theoretical debate to other contexts and settings. Yates (2003), writing about her own ‘small-number’ qualitative research with young people in a school setting, demonstrates how she drew upon prior theoretical knowledge in order to elicit patterns of broader significance.

## **5.3 Design Issues**

Two major considerations were uppermost in the design of this study, those of temporality and the conduct of research with young people.

### **5.3.1 Temporality**

Roche (2000) speaks to a mega-event’s ability to be a ‘defining moment’, suggesting that it has the potential to represent a significant point of change in people’s lives. The policy discourse around Glasgow 2014 followed this line of thought, insofar as the hosting of this major event was framed as a multi-dimensional intervention, promising transformation on an unprecedented scale and the prospect of an enduring imprint in its wake. The overriding consideration in design terms therefore was to have the ability to capture the ‘temporal unfolding of behaviour’ (Thomson et al., 2003 p.185). Accordingly, a longitudinal design was selected on the basis that it would capture aspects of change and enable insights to be gathered, before and after the Glasgow 2014 event.

The conceptualisation of ‘time’ in qualitative research warrants further elaboration. Whereas time emerges in quantitative longitudinal studies as ‘chronology, sequence, duration and interval’, in qualitative terms, it is ‘fluid, multi-dimensional and infinitely varied’ (Neale, Year Unknown). In other words, the notion of time extends beyond a simple linear definition to embrace other dimensions, including biographical, generational, and historical aspects. This study incorporates several temporal complexities. At an individual level, the notion of

the life course, examined in Chapter 3, conceptualises personal time as dynamic and non-linear, permitting the notion of ‘turning points’ or critical moments at the micro level of individual biographies. Indeed, the fieldwork for this research was conducted at a pivotal time for young people during the latter stage of their school career when choices were made regarding application towards study and planning for post-school destinations. On a meso level, this study situates the collective experiences of young people living in a deprived community during a period of significant disturbance brought about by multiple environmental interventions, operationalised through a major urban regeneration programme, itself catalysed by the CWG hosting. Finally, temporality might also be considered more broadly at a macro level which situates individuals in relation to the ‘field’, or structured social space (Bourdieu, 1998). In this regard, the hosting of the Glasgow CWG might be construed as a significant field change at a defined point in time, offering opportunities for accelerated social mobility by virtue of engagement, or otherwise, with legacy-related projects and initiatives.

An additional temporal dimension exists in relation to the phenomenon of sporting mega-events. The legacy literature indicates the existence of distinct temporal phases with regard to legacy (see Chapter 2), namely: the bid process; the seven-year period when the Games are being organised; the staging of the event itself; and the indeterminate post-Games period (Cashman, 2002). Past studies demonstrate that public attitudes towards major sporting events are fluid and fluctuate according to the temporal phase under consideration (Cashman, 2006, Hiller and Wanner, 2011, Waitt, 2003). This research aimed to investigate changes in young people’s attitudes, perceptions and behaviour between two temporal points: the first, during the increasingly intensive period prior to the event itself, the so-called ‘pregnancy’ phase; and the second, in its immediate aftermath.

There were several challenges in relation to studying change in this research. The first problem harks back to the attribution challenge, noted previously, which arises from the embedding of legacy objectives within existing strategies. Consequently, the CWG does not constitute a stand-alone intervention; rather, it is intended to accelerate, combine or amplify current policy initiatives as well as supplement them. In this study, the problem of causality is compounded further because youth, as a life stage, is characterised as a significant period of transformation in its own right. To illustrate this point, an aspect of Research Question 2 involves the detection of changes in spatial behaviours: yet increased spatial autonomy might itself be a hallmark of this personal development phase. In short, an ongoing challenge lies in disentangling and isolating the Glasgow 2014 effect.

A second caveat is associated with the essence of qualitative longitudinal research. Indeed, the conventional terminology of ‘pre-’ and ‘post-’ is somewhat misleading insofar as it assumes a baseline and an end line (Lewis, 2007). Qualitative researchers have commented on the provisional or open-ended nature of longitudinal studies and the particular challenge that the absence of analytical closure brings with respect to the authority and stability of interpretations (Neale, Year Unknown, Thomson and Holland, 2003). In this study, the window of empirical observation was determined by the three-year timeframe of PhD research. In effect, this meant that the study was limited to capturing a picture of ‘change in the making’ between two pre-set time points, A and B, with the knowledge that A did not equate to the start of the Glasgow 2014 trajectory, nor would B be the end of the matter, insofar as C, D and so on would continue to bring different twists and turns within an ongoing narrative. Finally, on an operational level, longitudinal research runs the inevitable risk of sample attrition between successive waves of fieldwork. Whilst this possibility is shared by both quantitative and qualitative longitudinal studies, it has more impact on the latter, given the relatively small sample size to begin with.

### **5.3.2 Conducting Research with Young People**

The second consideration was concerned with the positioning of young people in the research process. In recent years, there has been a theoretical and methodological shift away from traditional approaches regarding young people as objects of inquiry towards a new ‘sociology of childhood’ which recognises their status as social actors (Åkerström and Brunnberg, 2012, Furlong, 2013, Hill, 2006, Punch, 2002, Shaw et al., 2011). This perspective arose primarily from the empirical observation of the lives of young people, derived in no small part from the substantive UK body of research produced under the influential ESRC Children 5-16 Programme. This development builds on the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, notably Article 12, ratified by the UK in 1991, which provides a framework for addressing children’s rights, relating not only to their need for care, protection and adequate provision, but also their right to participation, including an entitlement to have an opportunity to express their views freely on matters which directly affect them (United Nations, 1989). Put simply, young people are now valued as ‘experts in their own lives’. Guidelines from the National Children’s Bureau (Shaw et al., 2011) demonstrate how different levels of control-sharing and participation by children and young people (CYP) in the research process might be conceptualised and operationalised. The authors propose a useful four-stage continuum of increasing involvement, ranging from ‘participation’ (whereby CYP are treated as mere sources of research data) to ‘consultation’

(where their views are taken into account when making decisions) and ‘collaboration’ (where decision-making is shared or negotiated with adults), and finally through to ‘ownership’ (where adults support CYP in making informed decisions about aspects of the research).

Whilst it is now generally accepted that CYP have the potential both to provide spontaneous and rich accounts of their own lives and to be actively engaged in the research process, the methodological response has taken one of two main forms. On the one hand, the more traditional research methods, taken for granted in adult-based research, have been adapted for young people by using innovative and creative techniques (including drawing (Punch, 2002), photographs (Morrow, 2001a), ‘walk along’ interviews (Neary et al., 2013)), all of which are intended to mitigate the adult-child power differential and affirm that the competences and abilities of children are different, rather than lesser than adults (Morrow, 2008, Punch, 2002). At the same time, and at the other end of the spectrum, there has been a plethora of social action research studies, which entail purposive strategies to assist CYP as ‘partners’ in the formation as well as the expression of their views (Åkerström and Brunnberg, 2012, Fleming, 2011, Lundy and McEvoy, 2012). Recent studies using this approach underscore the crucial point that the empowerment of young people is both the means and the end of the research enterprise.

In the final analysis, there is a consensus in the research literature that there can be no blueprint or ‘one size fits all’ (Hill, 2006, Mason, 2006, Punch, 2002). In determining how to involve CYP in research, there are several factors to be taken into account, including: the age of the children involved; the questions driving the research; the setting in which the research is being conducted; and the researcher’s own attitudes and behaviour towards CYP. Each of these factors will be discussed in turn as they arise in later sections. Above all, the literature encourages researchers to make explicit from the outset their particular stance towards young people (Fargas-Malet et al., 2010, Punch, 2002). In this study, young people were considered social actors constrained by the adult structures and practices in which they are located. The overriding design consideration was that young people should be involved beyond simple ‘participation’ (see National Children’s Bureau guidelines). Rather, they should be encouraged to engage in the research process by means of consultation and interactive methods of data collection. The rationale for this was two-fold: epistemologically, it was believed that the data would be more grounded in the lives of young people and thereby greatly improved (Hill, 2006); and ethically, this represented an opportunity to reflect and affirm the agency of young people. In respect of informed consent,

it is now accepted that every effort should be made to secure ‘actively given’ consent from competent legal minors under 16 years of age, in addition to gaining parental consent on either an active ‘opt-in’, or passive ‘opt-out’ basis (ESRC, 2012). In this study, ‘opt in’ consent was sought from pupils whose parents had not returned an ‘opt out’ form (see 5.4.3).

## **5.4 Research Methods**

### **5.4.1 Setting and Location**

The decision was taken to conduct this study in a school setting on the basis that it would deliver breadth of representation. According to Travlou et al. (2008), ‘if schools are not used, (then) there are very few other child- or youth-specific places which attract truly representative groups of young people and where research can be conducted, particularly group interviews’ (p.322). The alternatives of recruitment through the local community or homes were considered, but rejected. Street recruitment was not considered a socially acceptable option with regard to young people; whilst recruitment through youth-related activity clubs would have introduced a selection bias, either in favour of those young people with existing bridging networks, or, in the case of youth diversionary projects, towards more marginalised groups. Moreover, with regard to households, there was a concern that conducting research under a parental or sibling gaze would have inhibited young people’s responses, especially in households where there would be limited private or neutral space, as evidenced in a recent qualitative study of disadvantaged young people in Glasgow (Neary, 2015). There were further considerations in support of recruitment through schools. It is a setting where young people spend a significant proportion of their time and establish friendship groups; and it also provides continuity of contact to a relatively captive audience through school records. The latter point was particularly important in view of the longitudinal design of the study.

The literature attests to the challenge of conducting research in the school setting. Access is the most daunting of these, with researchers having to negotiate with a range of different adult gatekeepers before approval can ultimately be obtained (Morrow, 1998). Urban schools were found to be at greater risk of research ‘fatigue’, compared to their rural counterparts (MacLean, 2006), with those in disadvantaged areas more likely to decline a research invitation than those in advantaged areas (Irwin, 2009). In this study, progress was subject to sequential layers of approval. The first step involved obtaining authorisation to approach schools from the GCC Planning, Performance and Research Unit (Appendix 1). Whilst this

was a relatively straightforward process, following the completion of a standard questionnaire, gaining subsequent access to the candidate schools proved to be more uncertain and time-consuming. This study was undertaken under the auspices of the GoWell East research programme, which included a longitudinal study of physical activity participation levels in schoolchildren across Glasgow. The obvious advantage was that initial contact with the candidate schools was facilitated through the GoWell project lead, who was already known to the schools. Nevertheless, despite this leverage, a response from the individual schools was not immediately forthcoming, and six weeks had passed before an initial face-to-face meeting with the relevant Head Teachers was achieved. That said, once this critical threshold had been crossed, onward approval to proceed was granted straightaway by the Head Teachers, and liaison teachers assigned to arrange logistics directly with the researcher.

The second challenge is that schools are formal, structured and regulated social institutions, imposing considerable restrictions on the research enterprise. The pressure is especially acute in secondary schools where data collection activities have to be accommodated within the rhythm of a school day punctuated by subject periods of 40-60 minutes' duration and, additionally for older year groups, within a school calendar geared towards preparation for, and presentation at, formal national examinations. In such circumstances, the researcher has to maintain a balance between being adaptive, whilst still ensuring that the integrity of the research inquiry is preserved. Moreover, the physical environment can bring difficulties, especially when research methods necessitate private space for interviews to be conducted with little or no risk of interruption, or of being overheard. In their review of different approaches and methods, Fargas-Malet et al. (2010) found much evidence of difficulties encountered by researchers finding appropriate rooms which might represent 'an in-between of the formal and informal worlds of the school' (p.178). In this study, a meeting room was provided for the majority of interviews, with a Physical Education (PE) base and teacher's office used twice when the assigned room was unavailable. Nevertheless, there were four occasions when interviewing had to be suspended due to external interruptions (a janitor needing to test smoke and fire alarms in the room; a teacher verifying room availability; and a PE teacher wishing to make a cup of coffee).

Notwithstanding these generic features, schools should not be assumed to be homogenised institutions. On the contrary, empirical evidence (see 3.3.5.2) suggests that researchers should be alert to the distinctive ethos and culture prevailing in individual schools. These are discernible from tangible indicators (school website; written vision and mission; school



appearance; pupils wearing uniform; content on noticeboards) as well as more intangible aspects, including pupils' relations with staff, school attitudes towards visitors, and a sense of school community. Empirical evidence indicates that school ethos and culture are important factors in shaping educational attainment and pupil aspirations (McKinney et al., 2012, McLaughlin, 2005). Robison (2013), in her analysis of Glasgow secondary school data, observed that, while schools with similar pupil intakes achieved similar pupil educational attainment, there was a significant difference in 'positive destinations', the terminology used in educational policy to indicate entry into employment, further or higher education or training. Schools which were more 'destination-successful' attributed their success to a specific culture and school processes which fostered distributed leadership and relationships with external partners.

Arguably, the most challenging issue for the researcher to address in schools is the child-adult power differential. While the school environment is a place for children to learn, it is nevertheless organised and controlled by adult teachers: as Furlong (2013) comments, 'while progress has been made, on the whole the teacher is in control and the pupil is the subject rather than an active and empowered participant' (p.68). The implication for research is that pupils may feel obliged to co-operate if their school wants to be part of the study, and they might feel pressured to give 'correct' answers to research questions.

The response of adult researchers is critical in this regard. First, they need to remind pupils that their participation is voluntary and that they can withdraw at any time; secondly; they need to reassure children that there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers (Punch, 2002). More fundamentally, adult researchers should be reflexive concerning their stance towards pupil participants. Morrow (1998) underscores the challenge in this endeavour: 'children do not necessarily have ready access to objective, unconnected adults in the normal course of events. Children are always in a structural relationship to the adults around them: a child is a child of the family, somebody's son or daughter, or a 'school' child' (p. 310). The role of the researcher is influenced by a number of different factors, including age, gender, ethnic background, and personal style. In this study, thought had to be given in advance regarding the researcher's profile (mature female; Irish origin; not living in Glasgow; mother of three, including two teenagers), and how this might be used to best advantage to build rapport and trust quickly with young people. The researcher introduced herself to participants as an outsider who was interested in gathering personal accounts about the hosting of the CWG in a neighbourhood entirely unfamiliar to her. Field notes indicate that this assumed stance of

‘interested idiot’ (Darbyshire et al., 2005) was effective in engendering an informal interaction between researcher and participant.

Given the contextual influence of individual schools, fieldwork was conducted in two schools, less than a mile apart, identified hereafter as School A and School B. Both schools are state-funded and located in close proximity to 2014-related developments in the East End, including the Athletes’ Village, Sir Chris Hoy Velodrome and Emirates Arena, Tollcross International Swimming Centre and the hockey pitches at Glasgow Green. They share many characteristics, including a similar socio-economic profile as indicated by the percentage of pupils entitled to Free School Meals (FSMs) in 2012/13 (34.1 % in School A; 31.8% in School B), a level significantly higher than for Glasgow City (27.3%) and for Scotland (15.5%). Both schools experience above-average levels of pupil truancy, with 5.9% of School A pupils and 5.5% of School B pupils taking unauthorised absences during 2012/13, compared to 3.6% for Glasgow City and 2.5% for Scotland (Education Scotland, Year Unknown). Similarly, educational attainment in both schools is significantly lower than for Glasgow City and Scotland (Table 5.1). In terms of positive destinations, Table 5.2 shows that a high proportion of pupils in both schools enter Further Education, training or employment on leaving school (74.8% and 79.6%), although this is lower than for Glasgow and Scotland (84.7% and 90.0% respectively). While the figures indicate a lower level of entry into Higher Education for both schools compared to Glasgow and Scotland, a much higher proportion of young people in Schools A and B are in ‘training’ compared to their counterparts in Glasgow and Scotland.

<b>Attainment Level</b>	<b>School A %</b>	<b>School B %</b>	<b>Glasgow %</b>	<b>Scotland %</b>
S4 year group achieving five or more awards at SCQF Level 4 (Standard Grade, General level or equivalent or better	59	69	74	82
S4 year group from the previous year achieving one or more awards at SCQF Level 6 (Higher) or better	28	22	40	48
S4 year group from the previous year achieving three or more awards at SCQF Level 6 (Higher) or better	11	8	20	28
S4 year group from the previous year achieving five or more awards at SCQF Level 6 (Higher) or better	4	1	8	13

**Table 5.1 Comparison of Educational Attainments (source: Education Scotland)**

<b>Leaver Destinations</b>	<b>School A</b> n=119 %	<b>School B</b> n=93 %	<b>Glasgow City</b> n=4559 %	<b>Scotland</b> n=52611 %
Higher Education	18.5	24.7	30.8	36.3
Further Education	25.2	21.5	25.9	24.5
Training	9.2	9.7	5.1	4.1
Employment	21.8	23.7	22.9	25.1
Unemployed, seeking employment	* <sup>14</sup>	*	12.8	7.9
Unemployed, not seeking employment	*	*	1.5	1.7
Not known	0	0	2	0.3
Positive Destination	74.8	79.6	84.7	90.0

**Table 5.2 School Leaver Destinations 2012/13 (source: Education Scotland)**

Nevertheless, the two schools are also distinctive from each other in several key respects. School A, a denominational school, is the larger of the two, with 811 enrolled pupils as at September 2013 and housed in modern spacious accommodation. By contrast, School B is a non-denominational school with 429 enrolled pupils and is accommodated in an older facility, which has undergone significant refurbishment. An examination of their respective catchment areas shows that School A covers the neighbourhoods surrounding most major 2014-related sports venues in the East End (Glasgow Green Hockey Centre, Sir Chris Hoy Velodrome; Emirates Arena, Athletes' Village, but not Tollcross International Swimming Centre); whereas the catchment area for School B incorporates Glasgow Green Hockey Centre only. Figures supplied by GCC indicate that, although the two schools are broadly similar in terms of proportion of white pupils, there is a marked difference in their ethnic

<sup>14</sup> According to a footnote on the Education Scotland website, in cases where the no. of leavers is greater than 0 but less than 5, percentages have been substituted by an asterisk (\*), as the figures could be 'misleading or lead to identification of individuals'.

mix, with a greater percentage of Black African and Caribbean pupils in School A and a greater percentage of Asian pupils, particularly Pakistani, in School B.

Both schools were inspected in 2010. In the subsequent report (HMIE, 2010a), School A was commended for its ‘very strong Catholic community of faith’ and its ‘ambitious young people who have a very positive attitude to their learning and achievements’. The same report judged the school’s performance to be consistently better than schools serving young people with similar needs and backgrounds. While judged to be ‘improving’ at the time of inspection, School B was considered to be performing in line with, or less well, than schools serving young people with similar needs and backgrounds (HMIE, 2010b). More recent performance data from Education Scotland however suggest that significant improvements have been made in School B, with a new benchmarking tool showing that the school is outperforming its ‘virtual comparator’ in terms of pupil attainment and positive destinations. In sum, both schools appear to be on a positive trajectory.

## **5.4.2 Data Collection**

### **5.4.2.1 *Semi-structured Interviews***

Semi-structured interviews deploy the dialogic exchange between researcher and participants as the main stimulus for eliciting and probing personal accounts. The distinctive feature of the semi-structured interview is highlighted by a comparison with other forms of interviewing. As the name suggests, *structured* interviews entail the researcher asking a pre-determined set of questions with a pre-coded range of answers, which satisfy the two imperatives of standardisation and consistency in administration; and ease of data analysis. This type of interview is the method of choice in quantitative surveys. By contrast, unstructured interviews are largely conversational in style. The interviewer typically begins with an introductory question and uses a series of prompts during the interview but otherwise the interviewee is in the driving seat. Semi-structured interviews occupy the vast middle ground between these two extremes. The merit of using semi-structured interviews is that they are best placed to provide depth, nuance, complexity and roundedness in data, in short, ‘thick’ description. Moreover, the discursive format of the interview permits a degree of flexibility and spontaneity, allowing interviewees sufficient latitude to develop their own account of the issues important to them.

The limitations of using semi-structured interviews have been well rehearsed in the academic literature. Interviews have been criticised as a contrived form of interaction in an

‘unnaturalistic’ setting. Accordingly, concerns have been raised about the partiality of ‘truth’ that is gained from these interactions (Thomson, 2007) in that people might only reveal views which they consider socially acceptable. To illustrate this point, Backett (1990) found in her longitudinal study that people revealed their ‘public’ accounts in initial interviews, only to reveal their so-called ‘private’ accounts after repeated interviewing. Similarly, the researcher needs to be sensitive to the nature of the social interaction and the differential power relationship between the interviewer and interviewee. Mason (2003) advocates active reflexivity on the part of the interviewer, suggesting that it is more accurate to think of interviews as ‘interactional exchange[s] of dialogue’, generating meanings, understanding and perspectives within ‘co-productions involving researcher and interviewee’ (p.63). In this study, ongoing reflexive attention was facilitated by writing a field diary which captured observations and issues arising during the data collection and analytical stages. In this respect, the researcher aspired towards ‘epistemic’ reflexivity, which aimed to subject the ‘position of the observer to the same critical analysis as that of the constructed object at hand’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 p.41).

There are particular challenges in using in-depth interviews with young people. Some researchers have commented on CYP’s shorter concentration span (Punch, 2002). A more serious concern is that young people may lack the confidence to communicate directly with unfamiliar adults. The ‘problem’ of adult authority in relation to children is further accentuated when the young person and the researcher are together on a 1:1 basis. In a school setting, adult-child interviews might even have negative connotations e.g. because of the associations of face-to-face interviews with disciplinary or verbal examination scenarios. This does not mean to say that children are incapable of engaging with the traditional methods, but rather that attention should be directed towards selecting research techniques which would enable the young person to express their views freely and to feel more involved in the data generation process.

In sum, the main justification for using semi-structured interviews as the primary method of data collection in this study was its ability to attain in-depth and situated knowledge and insight into the attitudes, behaviours and aspirations of young people. This method is not without challenges, most notably, the contrived nature of the exchange, the unfamiliarity of the 1:1 scenario between adults and young people, and, a running theme throughout this chapter, the inequitable power relationship between the interviewer and interviewee.

### **5.4.2.2 Focus Groups**

While individual life courses are unique in their particular content, there are likely to be opinions, experiences, wishes and concerns which will be shared with others of the same age, social class, gender and place of residence. For this reason, group interviews were used in this study as a complementary research method on the basis that a different realm of social reality or broader cultural context might be captured.

The distinctive feature of focus groups is the insight they draw from individuals as members of a collective entity. In this sense, the focus group is said to provide a more naturalistic setting than 1:1 interviews, resembling the kinds of interactions people might have in their everyday lives. Although claims of accessing naturalistic data can often be overstated (Green and Thorogood, 2004), this method of data collection uniquely throws the spotlight onto the interaction between participants and facilitates the articulation of a range of different perspectives, with members being stimulated by the comments of others in the group, and being prompted and challenged by them to clarify, defend or even revise their views in ways that might be less easily accessible in a 1:1 format. Field notes from this study bear witness to this capability with a description of how the increasingly animated group discussion served to crystallise individual viewpoints, and, akin to a quasi-centrifugal effect, was found to polarise them. The researcher involvement is markedly different in focus groups compared to interviews, with their role being less intrusive and closer to that of a moderator or facilitator.

In this study, the young people who participated in individual interviews were also invited to participate in a focus group, in other words, to present themselves both as individuals and as members of an age cohort or social generation (Wyn and Woodman, 2007). On one level, attention was given to exploring young people's collective interpretation of the changes occurring in their neighbourhood, including their perceptions of, and attitudes towards, its altered standing in an urban and national context. At a higher level of abstraction, the focus group was also a platform for eliciting an exchange of views on the implications that hosting the CWG might have for 'young people like them'. The groups were scheduled to take place after the in-depth interviews to avoid the risk of 'contaminating' individual accounts. In terms of composition, they were undertaken on the basis of same gender. Homogeneity is most often recommended because of systematic variations in ways different groups discuss matters (Bryman, 2012, Greene and Hogan, 2005). With specific regard to the topic of interest in this study, there is unequivocal support for gender separation because of the

patterning in attitudes towards sport and physical activity (Inchley et al., 2005, Scottish Executive, 2006) and towards educational attainment and aspirations (Furlong, 2013).

In sum, the rationale for adopting focus groups as a secondary method was to generate data from a different contextual perspective, thereby incorporating the broader cultural and institutional features of the social world of young people.

### **5.4.3 Sampling and Recruitment**

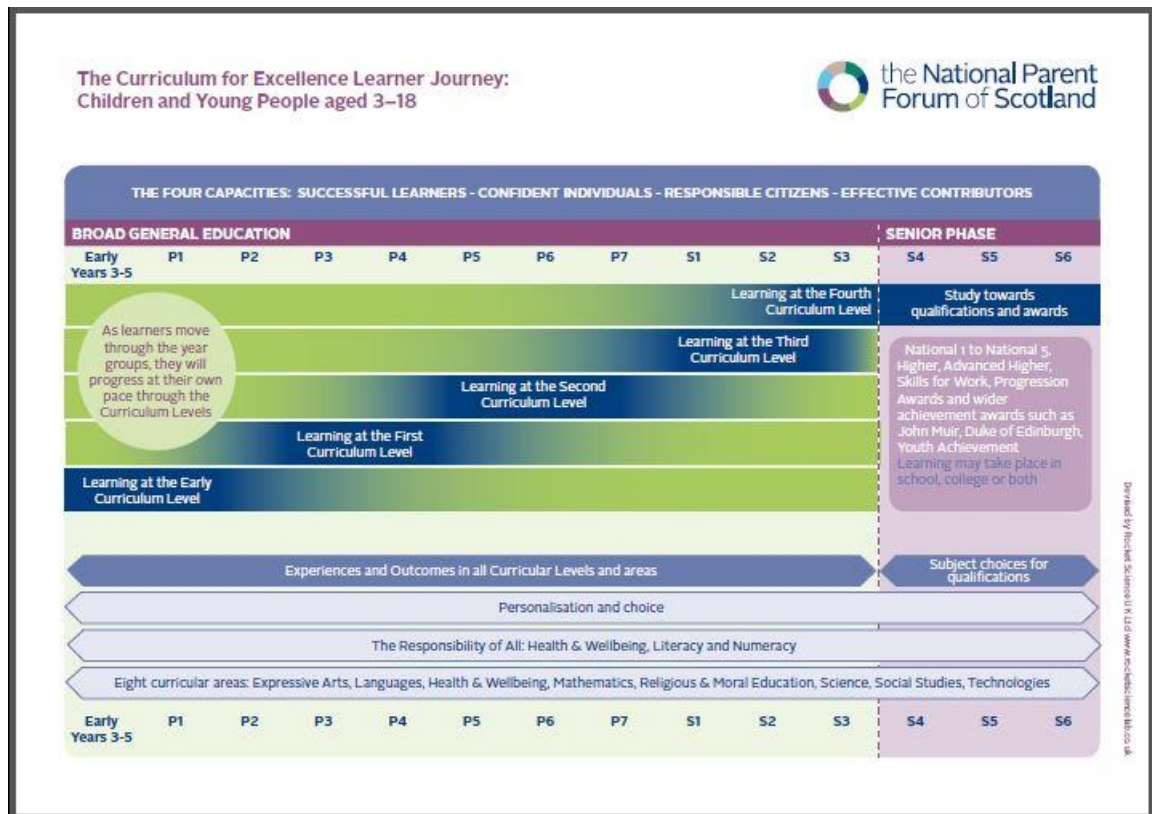
Purposive sampling was used insofar as those sampled were recruited according to the aims and objectives of the research and the questions being asked (Bryman, 2012).

#### **5.4.3.1 *Pupils***

Practical considerations, including the longitudinal design and the limited resource of a PhD researcher, determined that the target sample size should be circa 20 pupils. Although not claiming to be statistically representative, a sampling strategy nonetheless was identified on the basis that theoretical generalisation or some form of wider claim might be made to other disciplines, policy domains, and settings relating to young people - in short, 'the wider universe of social explanation' (Mason, 2003 p.122).

Sampling was undertaken in accord with those aspects considered to be most meaningful for the topic under investigation. Age selection was the first decision to be taken. In Chapter 3, 'youth' was described as a socially constructed concept, denoting the period of semi-dependence falling between the dependency of childhood and the independence of adulthood. The range of year groups which might conceivably come under this broad construct encompasses the entirety of secondary school education. In the end, a sample of young people was drawn from the S4 Year Group (aged 14/15 years) with an intended follow-up at S5 (aged 15/16 years). The justification for this decision was that, while aspirations might start to form at an early age, the later teenage years constitute the critical time in which interventions to help young people realise their aspirations are likely to be most effective (Gutman and Akerman, 2008). This phase also represents the time when aspirations develop into more realistic expectations (Kintrea et al., 2011). In a Scottish schools context, the S4 Year also marks the entry point into the Senior Phase within the Curriculum for Excellence Learner Journey (Figure 5.1). Important decisions, strongly influential in shaping future outcomes, are made at this time, including the level of effort applied on the part of the individual to the acquisition of accredited awards and/or study for

Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework (SCQF) examinations. Additionally at this time, planning occurs for the next stage of the ‘journey’ post-compulsory education, whether into Further or Higher Education, vocational training, or entering the job market. Another eligibility criterion for the sample was that the young people had to be a pupil at either of the two schools for a minimum duration of two years, thereby ensuring that the study focused on those pupils who had spent most of their secondary school career within the study area.



**Figure 5.1 The CfE Learning Journey (source: Education Scotland)**

A degree of sample stratification was planned in advance so that ‘between-group’ comparisons could be undertaken during data analysis. The literature supports the view that there are significant gender differences across a number of aspects relevant to this study: aspirations (Goodman and Gregg, 2010, Gutman and Akerman, 2008); educational attainment (Furlong, 2013, Scottish Government, 2006, Scottish Government, 2013b, Stoet and Geary, 2015); entry into Further and Higher Education (Furlong, 2013); spatial mobility (Brown et al., 2008, Travlou, 2003); and sports participation (Inchley et al., 2005, Scottish Government, 2014e). Furthermore, since prior interest in sports or culture might be associated with a more positive opinion of hosting of a major event, there was a possibility that the impact of 2014-related programmes might be greater, or at least different, for this sub-group compared to those who had little or no interest. To mitigate the risk of selection bias therefore, the sampling strategy aimed to include participants who undertook sporting



or cultural pursuits on a regular basis and/or were members of a sports club or other activity-based association (e.g. membership of a choir or drama group), as well as those who were not. Finally, sampling aimed to reflect a range of anticipated leaver destinations.

It was anticipated that the schools might attempt to influence who participated in the study, or that pupils might feel obliged to co-operate if their school wanted them to be part of the study. Mindful of this concern, a two-stage approach to recruitment was undertaken to ensure equity of opportunity to participate in the study (Hill, 2006), to underscore the voluntary nature of participation, and to achieve optimum researcher input into the final selection.

- Recruitment was initiated by the researcher who was given the opportunity to present an overview of the research study to the whole school year. This was achieved in School A by the researcher addressing pupils at a routine S4 year assembly and, in School B, at the end of a core PE class. Those interested in taking part were invited to make their interest known to the researcher. Interested pupils were handed an information leaflet and parental-opt out form. The 29 pupils who volunteered were informed that the latter should be returned to named staff members within a week.
- The researcher visited the school the following week to discuss selection of volunteers. At this point, teachers used their knowledge of individual pupils to appraise the candidate list in terms of meeting the selection criteria. In School B, it was agreed that all the volunteers would participate with the exception of one pupil who did not meet the residency criterion. This resulted in a sample of 13 pupils. In School A, the teacher offered to undertake additional recruitment of 'harder to reach' pupils to broaden the representativeness of the sample. In the end, 11 volunteers were randomly selected from a longlist of 16, and these were supplemented by 2 staff-recruited volunteers, bringing the total from this school also to 13.

In sum, 26 pupils were recruited for the study which exceeded the original target of 20. The sample profile is shown below in Table 5.3. Data supplied directly to the University of Glasgow from GCC, post-recruitment, brought a degree of confidence about the breadth of representation in the sample (Table 5.4). Although this was not intended to be a statistically representative sample, it was nevertheless interesting to note some variations. While White Scottish pupils were under-represented in both schools, those of African origin were over-represented in School A and those of Asian origin over-represented in School B. Using FSM entitlement as a poverty indicator, the comparative analysis showed that the percentage of

pupils in the School B sample was broadly in line with the S4 Year Group in that school, this in contrast to School A where the proportion of the sample entitled to FSMs was found to be half that of the school S4 year group. The gender profile for the sample was in line with the total S4 population in both schools.

Dimension	Wave 1	Wave 2
<b>School Attended</b>		
School A	13	9
School B	13	9
School Leavers	N/A	3
<b>Gender</b>		
Female	13	10
Male	13	11
<b>Place of Birth</b>		
Born in East End	20	15
Not Born in East End	6	6
<b>Ethnicity</b>		
Scottish	18	13
European	2	2
African	3	3
Asian	2	2
Other	1	1
<b>Club Membership</b>		
Sports	8	7
Cultural (dance, drama, music)	5	5
Other	1	1
None	12	8
<b>Sports Participation</b>		
Competitive or Elite	7	7
Recreational	4	3
Non-participant	15	11

**Table 5.3 Sample Profile at Wave 1 and Wave 2**

Dimension	School A Sample (%)	School A S4 Year (%)	School B Sample (%)	School B S4 Year (%)
<b>Gender</b>				
Female	46.2	49.7	53.8	47.9
Male	53.8	50.3	46.2	52.1
<b>Ethnic Origin</b>				
White Scottish	69.2	82.1	69.2	78.9
European	0.0	N/A	15.4	N/A
African	23.1	4.8	0.0	0.0
Asian	0.0	0.7	15.4	4.2
Other	7.7	12.4	0.0	16.9
<b>Income</b>				
Pupils Entitled to Free School Meals	23.1	46.9	46.2	52.1

**Table 5.4 Comparison of Sample Profile to School Year Group**

Sample attrition at Wave 2 totalled 5 young people, or 19.2% of the total sample (Table 5.3). All pupils who stayed on at school for S5 participated in both the focus groups and 1:1 interviews at Wave 2. Out of the 8 school leavers, 3 accepted the invitation to be interviewed a second time. Those who declined were White Scottish, were not affiliated to any social association, and did not play sport.

#### **5.4.3.2 Key Informants**

Fieldwork had already begun when it became apparent that interviews with key members of staff should also be conducted to contextualise young people's accounts. For example, pupils would refer to initiatives with which they had engaged, but it was not always self-evident whether these reflected the individual school policy or a broader educational policy; whether they were delivered by the school or in partnership with others; whether they were long-standing or initiated by the CWG; or whether they were available to pupils on a selective, 'opt in', or universal basis. Three members of staff were interviewed in each of the two schools. In this respect, the most relevant personnel were assumed to be the Year Teacher or Depute Head and the Pastoral Care Teacher, insofar as they were best placed to provide

detailed information about pupil choices, and the support and guidance provided to pupils in making these choices. In Chapter 4, it was observed that the individual school was likely to be an important mediating influence with regard to the plethora of Games-related initiatives targeting children and young people. Therefore, the researcher also interviewed the member of staff assigned lead responsibility for the in-school legacy programme. Interestingly, the relevant person in both schools was a member of the PE faculty.

#### 5.4.3.3 *Timing of Fieldwork*

The study aim was to capture the attitudes, intentions, and actions of young people at two time points which straddled the CWG event itself (23 July to 3 August 2014). Several factors determined the scheduling of fieldwork. Strategically, there was a desire to approximate the phasing across both waves, on the basis that responses might be influenced by seasonal factors. Moreover, in pragmatic terms, field research had to be accommodated with the timeframe of a PhD. In the end, Wave 1 fieldwork was undertaken from November 2013 to February 2014 (4 to 8 months before the Games) and Wave 2 fieldwork from October 2014 to December 2014 (3 to 6 months after the Games). Key informant interviews were conducted 4 months before the Games during March 2014. Table 5.5 provides a summary of data collection in terms of the participating school, research method and phase of fieldwork.

Wave 1 * denotes no. of participants				Wave 2 * denotes no. of participants	
	Pupil Interviews	Pupil Focus Groups	Key Informant Interviews	Pupil Interviews	Pupil Focus Groups
School A	13	2 (12*)	3	9	2 (8*)
School B	13	2 (11*)	3	9	2 (8*)
Neither School A nor B	n/a	n/a		3	n/a

**Table 5.5 Overview of Data Collection Methods**

## 5.4.4 Research Tools

### 5.4.4.1 Topic Guides

An interview topic guide was developed for each wave of fieldwork. At Wave 1, the guide (Appendix 2) reflected the four themes incorporated in the research questions, namely, social and spatial horizons; attitudes towards Glasgow 2014; anticipated engagement with the event; and aspirations. The topic guide developed for Wave 2 (Appendix 3) focused more specifically on actual engagement with the CWG; attitudinal changes; and perceptions of legacy impact. This time point also provided an opportunity to reflect upon, and refresh, previous discussions about future aspirations.

Although focus groups entail a much lower level of involvement on the part of the moderator, it was still considered useful to have in readiness a number of guiding questions to serve as a dialogical compass (Appendix 4). The main stimuli for focus group discussion at Wave 1 were two Glasgow 2014-inspired videos: first, a promotional video, entitled *Scotland Welcomes the World*, produced by Education Scotland as part of the *Game on Scotland* (GoS) programme, and the other marking the announcement in Sri Lanka of Glasgow's successful bid to host the CWG. The former embodied official legacy expectations and was used to elicit group members' immediate response to the overall tone and content. The video transcript (Appendix 5) was also used to ascertain levels of agreement about particular claims made in the video, including the construction of CWG as 'life changing' and 'all about young people'; and its potential to transcend sport ('it's not just about sport, 'it's about life in general') and stimulate radical change ('transforming society itself'). The second video was useful in eliciting discussion about two hypothetical scenarios: i) that Glasgow had not won the bid in 2007 and ii) that Glasgow had won, but the core investment was directed elsewhere in the city.

While the stimulus for the Wave 1 focus group was intended to gauge responses to legacy policy rhetoric, the main interest in Wave 2 was the hypothesised Logic Model (LM). The approach taken was also modified, as there was a concern that participants might feel 'talked out'. Drawing on the formula used in the popular TV programmes, *Strictly Come Dancing* and *The X Factor*, each pupil was asked to be on a panel of judges and to 'vote' on a performance. In this case, the performance under scrutiny was Glasgow 2014 in its widest sense i.e. the preparation, the staging of the event, and legacy. The GoS promotional video, previously shown in Wave 1, was played again to remind participants of the Games and the accompanying claims. The focus group was then shown a series of statements about

Glasgow 2014 and asked to give them a score. The statements, intentionally bold, embodied the essence of the research questions and the hypothesised mechanisms and ensured a focus on the meso level (young people, the East End) rather than the micro-social level (individuals):

- **Inspiration:** ‘Glasgow 2014 has inspired every young person in the East End to raise their game.’
- **Participation & Engagement:** ‘The East End community was a big part of Glasgow 2014’.
- **Place Transformation:** ‘Glasgow 2014 has changed the East End for ever’.

Scoring was done individually with the scores not displayed to the wider group until the judging had been completed. There then followed discussion around the degree of consensus, or otherwise; reasons for low, middle or high scores; and lateral thinking tasks (e.g. how might Glasgow 2014 have scored more highly on a particular statement; what were the reasons for scoring so high/low on this statement).

A topic guide was also developed for the interviews with key informants (Appendix 6). These were tailored to the latter’s particular field of expertise. Accordingly, Depute Head Teachers and Pastoral Care Teachers were asked primarily about the school context and pupil aspirations; while designated Glasgow 2014 Leads were invited to talk about legacy programmes in their respective schools.

#### **5.4.4.2 Other Research Stimuli: Maps and Timelines**

Visual techniques, in the form of mapping and timelines, were used in the context of individual pupil interviews at Waves 1 and 2 to facilitate the dialogue and interaction between the researcher and participants. These were justified on several counts. Past empirical studies attest to the use of visual methods to provide variation within the interview and to mitigate the risk of discomfort to participants that might be caused by intensive verbal probing. Specifically, researchers have spoken of the value of structured visual tools in providing access to ‘other expressive possibilities’ beyond the bounds of verbal discourse (Bagnoli, 2009) and of aiding the simplification of abstract or complex subjects (Crilly et al., 2006). Moreover, they have been found to produce a ‘condensing’ effect insofar as they support participants in understanding the focus and scope of the research and in keeping the

topic in view, literally and metaphorically, for the duration of the interview (Sheridan et al., 2011, Thomson and Holland, 2002). At the same time, visual techniques provide the ability to 'zoom in and out' so that the conversation can move easily between the general and the specific. Finally, tangible outputs from using visual methods provides a common frame of reference which are especially useful as 'return to' pieces in qualitative longitudinal research (Hanna and Lau-Clayton, 2012).

Various spatial mapping techniques have been deployed with young people on the premise that cognitions of environment or 'mapping' abilities are established from as young as four years old (Blaut et al., 2003, Darbyshire et al., 2005, Matthews, 1984). The majority of studies using maps have used cognitive mapping techniques, whereby the outputs were maps or drawings depicting a representation of individual perceptions of the surrounding environment, including the following aspects: important places (Morrow, 2001a); social and recreational space (Darbyshire et al., 2005); territoriality (Kintrea et al., 2008); spatial mobility (Leonard, 2007); and routes and destinations related to walking (Kirby and Inchley, 2013).

However, the literature indicates challenges with cognitive mapping, including incomplete data capture; different drawing abilities; and discomfort for older children. As an alternative, Travlou et al. (2008) used 'map reading' as a task activity, whereby young people were asked to inscribe their spatial experiences onto conventional street maps. The researchers found that the map reading approach ensured equitable participation and was not dependent on individuals' ability and confidence in drawing spatial maps from a blank sheet of paper (cited as a challenge for some participants in Green and White, 2007). In this Glasgow 2014 study, a map was created from OpenStreet Map, a 'crowd-sourced' community website (Appendix 7). The open access nature of the site ensured that there were no copyright restrictions or cost implications regarding usage and subsequent publication of maps. The map facility also had the advantage of being current (e.g. recent Glasgow 2014 infrastructural developments were included) and having similarity to the increasingly ubiquitous Google maps. During the interviews, participants were asked to mark on the map where they lived, where their friends lived, where they went to in their leisure time, and to demarcate any areas that they would have liked to have gone to, but felt unable to. Coloured pens and markers were used for this purpose. This exercise helped establish spatial boundaries early on and situated the subsequent discussion about perceptions of the area, place identity, and changes to the area brought about by the hosting of the CWG. The annotated maps were re-visited at a later point to facilitate a new but related area of discussion around place attachment. As Prince (2013)

argues, the ‘future imagining of self (‘who will I be?’) is inextricably bound up with place (‘where will I be?’).. [...] One simply cannot imagine the future without place’ (p.5). Finally, the use of maps, in underscoring the stance of the participant as ‘guide’ and ‘expert’ on their locality, mitigated to a large extent the inherent power differential within the interview dynamic.

Timelines were also used. According to Neale (2011), the future is a relatively neglected topic: ‘Imagined futures may well influence the direction of the paths that people follow, and an analysis of future orientations and aspirations opens up new possibilities for understanding the seeds of change’. ‘Youth’ is marked as a phase in the life stage when future-thinking becomes increasingly salient. In this study, the participants were provided with a ‘My Timeline’ worksheet (Appendix 8), comprising a single A4 sheet featuring two horizontal lines, with the top line labelled ‘My Journey So Far’ and the bottom line, ‘My Journey Ahead’ (the lines were pre-drawn because of the requirement to use limited time efficiently). The first line was marked chronologically from birth to present day. The participant was asked to record on the first line, alongside the approximate age at which they occurred, the most significant events or milestones in their lives so far. It was explained that these could be personal events, events happening in their locality, or other broader newsworthy items. Using a past timeline in this way helped to build up a biographical picture and to reveal turning points and critical moments within participants’ lives thus far. The second line, which started with the present day, was less compressed in time and highlighted the next five years, up to the age of 21. Accordingly, participants were requested to complete the sentence, orally or in writing, at the end of this line, which read ‘when I’m 21 years old, I hope to....’.. This question was deliberately left open to ascertain what areas were top of mind in terms of future aspirations. Follow-up questioning drew the discussion into more specific areas such as entry into Higher or Further Education, training, employment, relationships, and place of residence. The ‘futures’ timeline was then used as a stimulus to elicit information on the pathway that might be expected to achieve that goal.

#### **5.4.4.3 Consultation and Piloting**

Consultation was undertaken at an early stage and involved a group of young people, recruited by the Year Teacher in School A, who served as ‘More Knowledgeable Others’ (Vygotski, cited in McLeod, 2007). As clarity of language is considered vital in all research-related communication (Morrow, 2009, Punch, 2002), members of this reference group were asked for feedback on the accessibility and acceptability of the information leaflet, the topic



guide, and the proposed research stimuli. The pupils in this group, whilst actively involved in the research process, were not themselves the sources of data. Although feedback from this group was generally positive, several adjustments were made subsequently. The main one was an overall recalibration of researcher mind-set. Whereas the researcher had assumed that pupils would be steeped in all matters relating to the Commonwealth as an entity and to the forthcoming Games event, this was found not to be the case. It was also an opportunity for the researcher to familiarise herself with local knowledge (e.g. the Bellgrove Hotel, a notorious local landmark) and the local dialect. Finally, there were early indications that abstract concepts such as ‘turning points’ and ‘legacy’ required paraphrasing or prior explanation in order to bring them alive.

Time constraints, specifically the need for data collection before the Games event, meant that piloting was restricted to individual interviews, the primary research method. Four pilot in-depth interviews were carried out, two in each school. Further adjustments were made subsequently, including: the revised wording of several questions to support understanding; a sequencing change from specific questions onto those with broader interest; and the decision to postpone substantive discussion about legacy until Wave 2. Most importantly, the pilots indicated that conducting the interviews within the allotted time would be challenging, especially as pupils often took longer than anticipated to arrive at the meeting room. It was apparent too that there would be insufficient time to engage in the planned two interactive activities in depth. For this reason, the decision was taken to deploy the map and timeline activities as stimuli purely for discussion, rather than data collection tools for subsequent detailed analysis.

## 5.5 Ethical Considerations

Inevitably, undertaking empirical research entails researchers becoming involved to some degree in the lives of research participants. For this reason, detailed and careful consideration should be given to ethical probity, not simply at the beginning of a project when seeking ethical approval from a research ethics committee, but for all aspects of the inquiry, from the conduct of fieldwork to subsequent dissemination of research findings. In its simplest terms, the main ethical goals are: that people should be protected from harm; that people should take part in research voluntarily; and that their right to privacy must be respected (ESRC, 2012). Although researchers intending to work with young people should apply the same ethical principles as working with adults, several ethical considerations were uppermost in this study.

### **5.5.1 Informed Consent**

The underpinning principle is that informed consent should be freely given, without coercion, threat or persuasion, by individuals who are deemed competent to make an appropriately informed decision. In this respect, competence is understood as ‘having enough knowledge to understand what is proposed and enough discretion to be able to make a wise decision in light of one’s own interests’ (Fargas-Malet et al., 2010 p.177). In this study, it was assumed that the participants, although legal minors, were capable as ‘older children’ of providing informed consent (Skelton, 2008). As noted earlier, this view also chimes with the increasing recognition of the competence of CYP, combined with their right to participate, as enshrined in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989). Pupil consent (Appendix 9) was used in conjunction with parental opt-out consent (Appendix 10), on the basis that the most disadvantaged young people would most likely be excluded from studies that required parental opt-in consent, making the study of much less scientific interest and hence unethical to conduct (Irwin, 2009). Of course, the ability to give informed consent depends on the quality of the information. In this study, an introductory 1/3 A4 leaflet was produced which used simple language in an accessible ‘question and answer’ format to explain the purpose of the research and the voluntary nature of their participation. The text of the leaflet, shown in Appendix 11, had been critiqued prior to fieldwork by the young people’s reference group to ensure clarity and accessibility of language.

The issue of voluntarism is particularly pertinent to school-based research which requires that access to CYP is mediated through adult gatekeepers who are in a position to influence who participates. The staged approach to recruitment in this study provided several platform opportunities to emphasise the voluntary nature of participation and to remind participants that they were at liberty to withdraw at any point during the research.

### **5.5.2 Anonymity**

Ethical guidelines recommend that the names of individuals and place names are disguised to protect the anonymity of research respondents. In this study, potential identifiers were removed from data (transcripts; maps; timelines) and replaced by a pseudonym. Despite this, and given the small sample base, the theoretical possibility of identification could not be entirely removed. In line with guidelines from the National Children’s Bureau (Shaw et al., 2011), additional precautions were taken to reduce the theoretical possibility of

identification. For reporting purposes therefore, names or titles of third parties (staff, friends, parents) and place names were removed or edited.

The issue of anonymity was more problematic in the case of key informants and schools. Given that there were only two schools involved in the study, the risk of identification-by-inference was judged to be extremely high. An ethical issue arose from the fact that approval had originally been granted by GCC on the basis that 'schools will be assured that they will not be named at any stage of the research'. Although the schools were indeed referred to as School A and School B, there was a concern that this nomenclature would not provide adequate protection. Key informants were informed that anonymity could not be guaranteed and were asked to provide verbal consent on this basis. Notwithstanding, consent was readily granted in all cases.

### **5.5.3 Confidentiality**

Young people should be afforded the same degree of protection regarding confidentiality, anonymity and data protection as adult participants. However, the duty of child protection means that confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. In this regard, the information leaflet affirmed that information provided by participants during the study would be confidential to the researcher. At the same time, the limits to confidentiality were also made explicit in the body of the leaflet. The procedure for onward notification of any suspected child abuse or criminal behaviour was identified from the outset in consultation with the main school contact. Furthermore, written, audio-taped and computerised information were stored at a separate location from identifiers (consent forms; parental opt-out forms; participant information sheets). The rationale for retaining personal data beyond the timeframe of the PhD study was also provided, although it was made clear that consent to participate applied to this study only.

## **5.6 Data Analysis**

There is no universally agreed codification for the analytical process. Moreover, there is little exposition in the literature about the process used by researchers, with the situation not helped by the limited space available in academic journals. The result is that the process of analysis of qualitative data is somewhat shrouded in mystery (Lewis, 2007). For example, the phrase 'thematic approach' is often used by researchers as shorthand to communicate their approach, but, as Bryman (2012) observes, this method has no 'identifiable heritage',

nor does it have a ‘distinctive cluster of techniques of its own’. Also, the terminology used is often inconsistent; for example, ‘codes’, ‘categories’ and ‘themes’ are often used interchangeably but appear to mean different things to different people. In this study, attention was afforded to providing a detailed and meaningful account of the analytical process. Uppermost was the desire to be *transparent* (by providing descriptions of the intellectual process involved); *comprehensive* (by ensuring a systematic inclusion of data); and *reflexive* (in an ‘epistemic’ rather than ‘confessional’ sense in accord with Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of ‘scientific habitus’).

### 5.6.1 Data Management

The recording of the interviews and discussions, and subsequent transcription of these by the researcher, meant that an account of the series of exchanges was retained, not only in terms of the content of what was said, but also the way in which it was said. Mason (2003) reminds the researcher that any recording is always partial because it excludes non-verbal cues and any visual images used. The transcribing process attempted to capture the content of what was said, but it did not aim to replicate local pronunciation. In this respect, the researcher supported Bourdieu (1989) in his rejection of a ‘strategy of condescension’. The reason for this was instinctive, insofar as the researcher felt that any attempt to ‘symbolically negate’ the power relationship in this way would have caricatured and trivialised the conversation, thereby eclipsing the content of the exchange and creating an unnecessary differentiation between participation and researcher. Examples of alterations during the transcribing stage included the replacement of ‘hoos’ with ‘house’, ‘mare’ with ‘more’, and ‘heed’ with ‘head’.

The study yielded 53 individual interviews and 8 focus group discussions, equating in material terms to over 1600 A4 pages of transcript and over 55 hours of audio recordings. Given the quantity of data involved, there was no question about the advantage of using computer software, in this case, NVivo 10, as a tool for the coding and retrieval of data.

Table 5.6 overleaf provides a summary of the three key stages and outputs in the data management process:

Key Stage	Key Output
Familiarisation with data	Annotated transcripts
'First Cycle' manual coding	Interim thematic framework
NVivo Coding	Revised thematic framework

**Table 5.6 Data Management Process**

### 5.6.1.1 *Familiarisation*

Given the time lapse between fieldwork and analysis, the first imperative was to read all the transcripts and listen to the audio files in order to bring to mind again the research setting and interactions between the researcher and participants. No attempt to code was made at this 'pre-coding stage' (Saldana, 2013), but instead tentative ideas and insights about topics or issues of interest were noted at the foot of each page. The main challenge during this stage was the time required, but the investment was considered worthwhile because it provided a sense of the totality of the data. Pseudonyms were introduced at this stage and demographic and other attribute<sup>15</sup> data attached to participants through the NVivo node classification function (Appendix 12).

### 5.6.1.2 *'First Cycle' Coding*

Ritchie et al. (2014) argue that 'well-labelled and sorted data provide a firm foundation on which researchers can then build their more interpretative analysis' (p.284). In this study, the data were coded simultaneously using three separate coding or theming methods, drawn from the wide-ranging repertoire recommended by Saldana (2013), within a so-called 'eclectic' coding strategy:

- Descriptive, or empirically driven, strategy, which is grounded in the data and summarises the basic topic of a passage in a word or short phrase;
- Structural, or theory-driven, strategy, which applies a word or phrase to a segment of data that relates to the specific research questions used to frame the interview;

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<sup>15</sup> NVivo functionality allows for classification of cases (pupils) according to demographical or behavioural labels considered most relevant by the researcher to the study.

- Hypothetical, or researcher-driven, strategy, which is the application of a researcher-generated, predetermined list of codes to the data, specifically to assess a researcher-generated hypothesis in terms of the 'fit' with empirical data (in this case, the four mechanisms within the LM).

Having agreed a coding strategy, the next step was to code manually a pupil interview (Calum) considered to be the most 'data-rich'. A second pupil interview was then selected in order to determine whether these codes needed to be added to, or refined. For this purpose, Linda provided the starkest contrast insofar as, unlike Calum, she did not belong to any clubs, had no interest in sport and did not volunteer for the research. Codes were subsequently transferred onto Post It notes, and an attempt made to put them into an interim thematic framework. To ensure coverage, a representative sample of additional interviews was selected, again reflecting the widest possible range and diversity, including the least/most positive attitude towards hosting; young person born/not born in the East End; focus group and in-depth interview; key informant and pupil. Manual coding continued in this fashion until a saturation point was reached. Adjustments were made at this stage e.g. 'sport' arose organically in young people's accounts and became a code in its own right; similarly, 'school' was found to warrant two separate codes to reflect its distinctive mediating roles with regard to legacy initiatives and pupil aspirations. Young people's experience of transition into the senior phase - and the resultant orientation towards future goals - also emerged as an important topic and was included as a code.

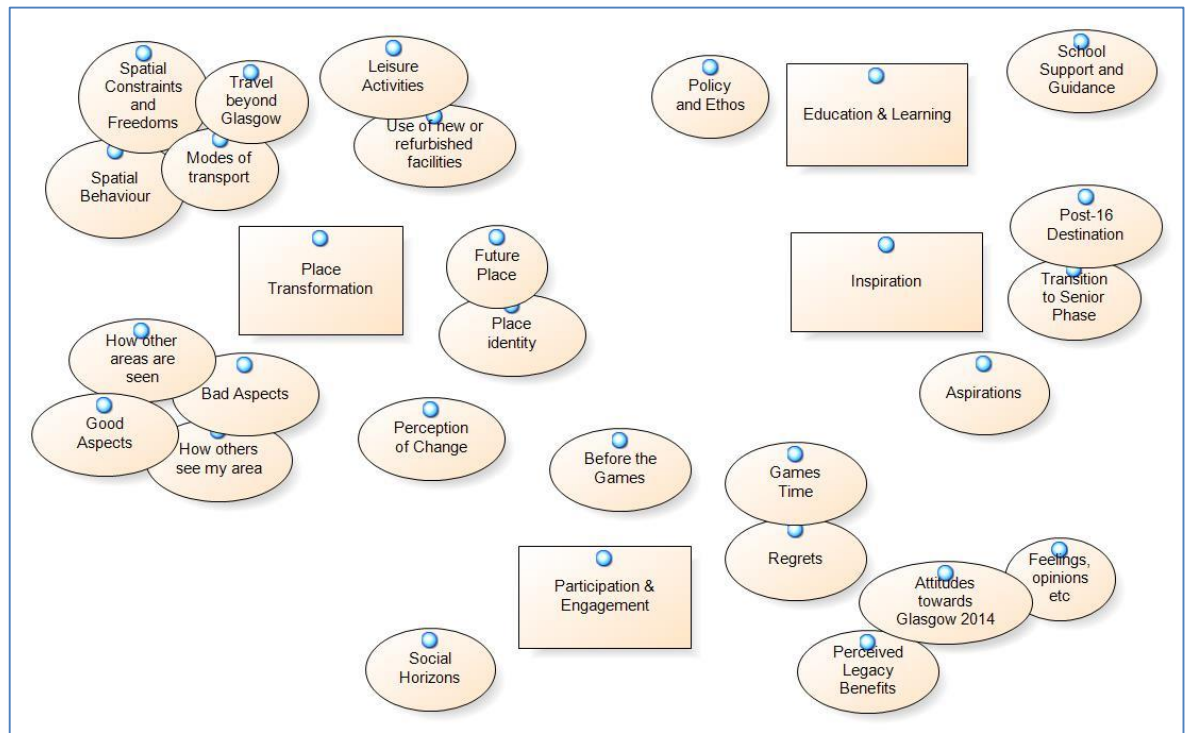
### 5.6.1.3 NVivo Coding

Thematic codes were stored at 'nodes'<sup>16</sup> using the 'drag and drop' functionality within NVivo. Again, this process was initially slow, involving time spent in reflection and writing memos and annotations in addition to the practical task of creating new nodes, or merging, moving or deleting others. For example, secondary nodes were created under the primary node of 'attitudes towards hosting 2014', in terms of whether the statements made in this regard were judged by the researcher to be negative, positive or neutral, so that subsequent analysis might allow for the identification of groups most likely to hold certain views. The greatest challenge during this phase was the mental flux involved, the result of a constant movement and interplay between the following aspects of data analysis: closeness and

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<sup>16</sup> A node is defined as the place where data sharing similar themes are stored. Within a developed coding framework, primary or 'parent' nodes are broken down further into sub-nodes or 'child' folders.

proximity; specificity and generality; simplicity and complexity; clarity and confusion; description and abstraction. Further reading within each of the thematic ‘piles’ resulted in further adjustments and refinement of node names and descriptions until a final thematic framework was arrived at (Appendix 13). The final thematic framework comprised 6 parent nodes and 48 sub-nodes. Figure 5.2 models a selection of these around the four mechanisms within the hypothesised LM.



**Figure 5.2 Nodes Clustering Model**

### 5.6.2 Data Abstraction and Interpretation

The analytical strategy was to work systematically with one parent node at a time. Prior to each node reading, the key questions that needed to be asked of each node or sub-node were identified. The three-step process recommended by Bazeley and Jackson (2013) became the analytical mantra: DESCRIBE (write a description of what is found in that node); COMPARE (compare how different sub-groups or cases talk about it); and RELATE (use aforementioned to prompt ideas about relationships in and across the data set). Emerging ideas and further questions were noted and stored in memos. Supporting quotations were copied and pasted into the memos using the ‘see also’ functionality, and coding queries, particularly matrix coding queries, were used to explore possible differences associated with contextual factors or conditions or outcomes. Framework matrices in particular provided the means of summarising or condensing source materials in a table format with cases (pupils interviewed) in the rows and thematic nodes in the columns, with each cell in the grid

representing the intersection between the case and the theme. Viewing coding stripes within individual nodes was also useful in helping identify associations with other nodes. One example of the latter can be drawn from an analysis of the benefits which young people attributed to the hosting of the Games. The presence of coding stripes for place-related sub-nodes ('how others see my area' etc.) provided a possible source of explanation for the saliency of image improvement as a cited benefit of hosting.

The issue of numbers provided the most difficult challenge during this stage. Ritchie et al. (2014) urge researchers to exercise care in the use of statistical inferences, which they condemn as 'likely to be at best misleading and at worst erroneous because qualitative samples are not designed for such purposes' (p.379). The temptation to use quantitative statements about qualitative findings arises from the functionality within NVivo. This enables numerical tallies to be made, and to be presented in tabular form, either about the frequency that an issue was raised (referred to as 'coded references'), or the number of people who raised it (referred to as 'coded sources'). Whilst the latter is about prevalence, and therefore more relevant to quantitative surveys, the former is a useful indicator of patterns and more appropriate for qualitative research. Notwithstanding, the researcher still needs to be vigilant, because the number of coded references can be skewed by the manner in which coding was applied to the text e.g. where one person makes multiple statements within a particular node because they have strong opinions on the topic under discussion. That is not to say that numerical tallies served no purpose in the analysis. On the contrary, they were useful as proxy indicators for the saliency of particular views, in terms of whether they might be described as dominant, typical, deviant etc., or identifying lines of investigation, but they were not considered findings in their own right.

In order to move beyond a literal reading, the next critical stage was data interpretation, involving the movement from nodes towards more abstract, analytical and theoretically informed concepts or themes. This entailed a 'constant comparison' of cases, an idea derived from the grounded theory approach (Atkinson et al., 2001). The researcher needs to be careful to maintain a close connection between the data and conceptualisation, all the while being alert to contrasts between emerging categories and accounting for exceptions, or 'deviant cases', within these categories. The final desired outcome is what Mason (2003) calls the 'logic of explanation' or the argument which can eventually be made in relation to the research questions. As anticipated, the analysis was complicated by the numerous ways in which longitudinal data can be read, involving 'hindsight, foresight, and insight' (Lewis,



2007, Thomson and Holland, 2003). In this study, the data were analysed synchronically and diachronically which provided the following perspectives:

- **Cross-sectional**, involving the study of narratives at a single point in time, examined individually or on a between-group comparison (e.g. gender, sports participation);
- **Repeat cross-sectional**, involving an examination of narratives at the second point in time, with the main focus being on change since the previous cross-sectional;
- The unfolding, and subsequent retelling, of **individual narratives** across time, involving both specific events or interactions, as well as subjective feelings, hopes, reactions, and plans. The researcher also has to be alert to participants' reinterpretation of accounts provided at the first interview;
- **Individual cases 'in conversation with each other'** (Thomson, 2007 p.571). This reading was considered particularly useful in achieving a more nuanced sense of mechanisms, for example, by examining cases with similar starting places but with different outcomes, as well as markedly contrasting narratives. Working in this way enabled the significance of the broader context to be explored and added a further analytical dimension to focus group data;
- The focus groups provided the medium for a **'social generational'** reading, insofar as it aimed to gauge the collective mood in terms of shared hopes and fears of an age cohort, experiencing a period of profound change in their neighbourhood. This was also useful in revealing their understanding of the structured space or 'field' in which they lived their lives;
- Investigation of **thematic linkages** in response to interrogation of data e.g. did participation in a Glasgow 2014 programme entail travel to areas previously unknown to the participant or new social experiences, and what effect did these have on future plans?

## 5.7 From Research Questions to Research Findings

The next three chapters provide the results from this analysis, with each chapter focusing on an individual mechanism. Accordingly, Chapter 6 presents the findings which relate to the 'Place Transformation' mechanism, whereas Chapters 7 and 8 focus on 'Participation &

Engagement’ and ‘Inspiration’ respectively. ‘Education & Learning’ is interwoven into each of the findings chapters to reflect the schools’ critical mediating role with regard to both the CWG legacy programme and pupil aspirations. The sequencing of chapters, according to ‘Place’, ‘People’ and ‘Person’, is for ease of presentation only and should not be taken to imply that these aspects operate independently of each other, nor indicate prioritisation. On the contrary, the findings chapters emphasise the interplay between the micro, meso, and macro dimensions of young people’s lives and demonstrate how they combine to shape future life chances.

## Chapter 6 ‘Preparing the Stage’

### 6.1 Chapter Overview

The focus of this chapter is the legacy dimension of the built and physical environment. The interim horizons Logic Model (LM) suggested how this place-based mechanism might work in an uncomplicated ‘ideal world’ scenario and posited that tangible measures might combine to achieve a profound physical regeneration of the East End. In so doing, a number of outputs were itemised in the model and theorised to impact positively on young people’s horizons. Accordingly, the construction of world class facilities was hypothesised to enable young people to embrace new sporting interests and social relations; improved transport connectivity to provide more opportunities for young people to visit places beyond their usual spatial boundaries for education, employment or leisure; and, finally, enhanced physical appearance of their neighbourhoods to engender greater civic and local pride, which in turn might build self-esteem and alter outlook on life. Each pathway will be examined in turn, and the study data discussed with reference to previous empirical research and social theory. The final section appraises the physical transformation of the East End in relation to young people’s views about the spatial enactment of their future lives.

### 6.2 A ‘Sporting’ Legacy

A stated indicator of legacy ‘success’ was increased sports participation in the East End (Glasgow City Council, 2009). Sport and exercise makes an important contribution to physical activity levels (Scottish Government, 2014f). The health benefits of physical activity are well established and include improved self-esteem and mental well-being, as well as longer term beneficial effects on bone health, cardiovascular disease and cancer risk (Department of Health, 2011). Surveys indicate that boys are more physically active than girls, with Scottish data showing that only 51% of girls aged 13-15 meet the recommended physical activity guidelines, compared to 68% of boys (Scottish Government, 2014e). Moreover, this particular life stage is generally marked by a decline in participation levels, especially for girls, which does not bode well for continuation in later life (Kirby and Inchley, 2013). Also of interest for this study are the numerous policy statements extending the value of sport and exercise beyond individual health benefits to include a contribution to social capital through opportunities to join local clubs and associations; and to social equality through the creation of diversionary programmes for marginalised youth (Scottish Government, 2014c).

The approach employed by national policymakers has been two-fold: to develop the infrastructure required to deliver sporting opportunities; and to widen access and participation (Scottish Government, 2014d). Given this two-pronged strategy, the findings from this study are presented below in terms of empirically observed changes, which might be attributed to the stimulus of the CWG, relating to both the 'supply' of sporting infrastructure and 'demand' for the associated sporting amenities.

### 6.2.1 Sporting Infrastructure

The construction and upgrading of sporting venues in the East End are unequivocally classified as a 'direct impact' of the CWG (McCartney, 2010). Critically, forward planning by event organisers (Glasgow City Council, 2009, Glasgow City Council, 2014) meant that new venues did not become the infamous 'limping white elephants' from past mega sporting events (Kissoudi, 2008, Mangan, 2008), but instead were available to local people well in advance of the sporting event itself. Indeed, the new £115.7 million Emirates Arena and Sir Chris Hoy Velodrome (henceforth 'Velodrome') first opened its doors in October 2012, nearly 2 years before the CWG and 12 months before the commencement of Wave 1 fieldwork. The sporting opportunity structure was further enhanced with the decision by the city council to incorporate all East End facilities into an existing city-wide club membership scheme, managed by Glasgow Life<sup>17</sup>. Although not regarded as legacy programmes in their own right, several local amenities were also improved during this time (Clark and Kearns, 2014).

Consequently, the two East End schools in this study had access to both new world class sporting venues and upgraded facilities in their immediate environs. The swimming pool adjacent to School B had already been upgraded pre-Games; while a running track, used during the CWG at Hampden Park Football Stadium in the south-side of the city, was re-located to a Glasgow Club facility next door to School A: *'The school gets access to it [the track] for free of charge during school hours. So that facility will be upgraded because it's a training venue, so that will be of benefit to us. That'll keep us going for another few years'* (2014 Lead, School A). This quotation warrants comment because it implicitly frames Glasgow 2014 as a piece of unexpected good fortune, or 'bonanza windfall'.

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<sup>17</sup> Glasgow Life is a limited company with charitable status, which was set up by Glasgow City Council in 2007 to operate cultural and leisure services for the city. Public access to sport facilities is through Glasgow Club, itself part of Glasgow Life, which has a network of 22 gyms and 11 swimming pools across the city.

While the new sporting infrastructure was viewed in a positive light generally (*'maybe people might want to use them more because they are newly built, and they don't want to go to old like kinda scabby things'* (Chris, Wave 2)), there were signs nevertheless that symbolic barriers existed for some research participants. This finding concurs with previous work by Cummins et al. (2007), which highlighted the importance of understanding the relational view between people and place; and of regarding distance from a socio-cultural perspective rather than simply in conventional, Euclidean terms. Accordingly, the Velodrome was regarded by some as a highly specialised competitive facility which seemed situationally incongruous within its social (*'not for us'*) and environmental (*'not for here'*) context. For them, a more appropriate location would have been the affluent West End of the city:

*'They [people in the West End] do more sophisticated things like... I don't mean to sound like that the West End's proper posh and we're trash, but the West End would have more high-end facilities and places [like that] (Danny, Wave 1).*

*'They'd [people in the West End] see it a lot different, they'd be a lot happier' (Kieran, Wave 1).*

Nevertheless, in the following statement, Morag alludes to the passage of time altering initial negative perceptions of the Velodrome: *'I think it's like normal now, I would say, for me. But, at the time, it was this big, big massive thing' (Wave 2).*

### 6.2.2 Widening Participation

There is a consensus in the literature that providing bricks and mortar is not sufficient on its own to generate a step-change in sports participation (Giles-Corti and Donovan, 2002). A particular criticism levelled against the organisers of London 2012 was that too much attention was afforded to the supply infrastructure to the detriment of putting so-called *'leveraging'* programmes in place to stimulate demand (Weed et al., 2015). As far as Glasgow 2014 is concerned, a longitudinal survey of East End adult households found that, despite a positive change in host residents' perceptions of the quality of local sports facilities, reported use was lower post-Games compared to two years previously (Cleland et al., 2015).

The current study found evidence of the important contribution made by schools in forging links between young people and local sports facilities. This finding corresponded with the work of Clark and Kearns (2014), which identified schools as an important environment for supporting access to physical activity opportunities for children and young people in

deprived areas. Both participating schools had allocated a proportion of their respective overarching Glasgow 2014 programmes (see Chapter 7) to establishing links with local sports venues. Thus, at Wave 1, several pupils in School A spoke of their recent participation in accreditation training for track cycling at the Velodrome; while one pupil talked about his involvement in a tailored intervention to tackle body image issues, involving a Glasgow Life mentoring and gym membership programme. By contrast, School B adopted an event-based strategy, including the hosting of a whole-school sports day at the Velodrome and organising a trip to the venue so that pupils might spectate at the Badminton World Championships.

Staff and pupils differed markedly in terms of the significance attached to the school-based programme. Not surprisingly, the most positive accounts emanated from PE staff, who welcomed the arrival of unprecedented sporting opportunities on their doorstep:

*'...because sport is a big thing for me. It brings in new facilities to the area, especially with the Emirates down there. We used to have to travel in a bus to Kelvin Hall [located in the West End]. It would take us a long time, traffic was horrendous, but we've now got these big venues that are appearing on our doorstep, which is excellent for sport in the school' (PE Lead, School B).*

While this statement underscored the greater ease of access for East End schools to new major sporting facilities, it also signalled an important directional shift, whereby schools from outside the East End would henceforth be drawn into the locality for inter-school competitions.

Pupils were less enthusiastic however about the enhanced sporting opportunities available to them, with accounts providing little indication of independent engagement in response to school-organised activities. This does not necessarily imply failure on the part of schools; on the contrary, the data highlighted the notable success of the various linkage initiatives in generating first-time access to the sports facilities and raising awareness of the sporting opportunities available therein. Nevertheless, there was evidently scope for improvement in this respect, with one participant criticising the absence of follow-up information and encouragement: *'Nobody really tells you what to do afterwards. It's like, you just go with the school, then they say, that's the trip over, we hope you enjoyed it' (Danny, Wave 1)*. This finding suggests an inherent flaw in the assumption that the CWG would spontaneously lead to participation increases through a 'demonstration' effect, whereby people would be inspired to participate by simply watching elite sport, sports people and sporting events (Weed et al., 2009). It also highlights the requirement for ongoing leveraging activity to stimulate subsequent usage by local pupils (Misener et al., 2015).

Since the new and enhanced sporting facilities were accessible to the local community in advance of the CWG, questions could be asked at Waves 1 and 2 about their routinised use. In pursuing this line of inquiry, three distinct groups of young people were identified and categorised according to their self-reported use of sporting facilities: frequent 'sporty' users; infrequent 'active' users; and inactive non-users.

### **6.2.2.1 Frequent 'sporty' users**

The first category comprised young people who were frequent users of the sporting facilities and who had no hesitation in defining themselves as 'sporty'. Indeed, their accounts indicated existing sports participation at a competitive level in their chosen sport, whether representing their social institution (school), social network (community club), or geographical entity (Glasgow, and, in one notable case, Scotland). Accordingly, their engagement embraced all three components of the sporting system - school sport; club sport; and sports performance (sportscotland, 2011). This study found substantial evidence for the advantage of playing sport at a competitive level in terms of promoting travel to different places (*'This year, I've been to Vegas, Denmark, Sweden' (Gerry, Wave 1)*) and extending social networks (*'It's actually good because you get to meet new people and get to, you know, share what you love about the sport and talk about it, even though other people do different sports' (Ellie, Wave 1)*).

The availability of a world-class amenity on their doorstep signified an upgrade for sports competitors: *'They've built the Emirates and that up at Parkhead area, and I use the gym up there and that, and it's a lot better than what we had before' (Gerry, Wave 1)*. The symbolic presence of an Olympian, Sir Chris Hoy, in the Velodrome did not go unnoticed, suggesting a demonstration effect at work: *'I saw Chris Hoy trains there as well, and you actually see his locker, it's like golden, his locker is golden, he's got this huge padlock as well, it's pretty cool' (Calum, Wave 1)*. Young people in this category reported participation across a wider range of sports than had previously been available to them, including swimming, basketball, volleyball, track cycling, karate, 5-a-side football and, most popular of all, working out at the gym. Interestingly, there was no evidence of gender patterning.

However, for this group, there was a trade-off between upgraded facilities on the one hand and discontinuity of access on the other. Especial mention was made of the compulsory displacement before and after the CWG. Most respondents seemed to take the disruption in their stride, with the data suggesting that they had benefited from parental support in getting

them to temporary venues further afield. This privilege might not have been available to one boy, who shared his frustration at being unable to train for several months at his usual facilities. The pronouns have been underscored in the following quotation to convey his feeling of exclusion:

*'They're [Glasgow 2014 athletes] coming in here, they're taking the Crownpoint [Glasgow Club facility adjacent to School A], they're taking the Velodrome...they're taking Tollcross, they're taking all the other facilities...So what are we as young people going to do when people from different continents come over here? (Luke, Wave 1).*

*'..and the other athletes are down there, and we're not allowed in' (Luke, Wave 1).*

Although Luke's sentiment was atypical, the above excerpts nonetheless reveal a generalisable point about the inherent conflict of interest between elite and non-elite sports performers. It is suggested here that the risk of ongoing tension between them is unlikely to recede in the future, even in the wake of a large multi-sport event like the CWG, insofar as world class facilities such as the Velodrome underpin an ongoing urban strategy to attract international events, which in turn is likely to disrupt regular usage by local athletes (Glasgow City Council, 2014).

#### **6.2.2.2 Infrequent 'active' users**

The second category of respondent consisted of infrequent users of local sports facilities. A defining characteristic was their self-identification as 'active' rather than 'sporty'. The range of activities that they participated in was considerably narrower than the first group, with evidence of gendered patterning. Thus, while gym workouts were the main activity for both boys and girls, only boys participated in 5-a-side football, and only girls in fitness classes e.g. Zumba. None were affiliated to, or had newly joined, clubs or any other sporting affiliation. Several girls mentioned going regularly to community dance groups, but membership of these had been longstanding, since the girls were 3 or 4 years of age. In contrast to the first group, for whom continuity of access was paramount, young people in this group emphasised the importance of location. The following excerpts illustrated their tendency to select venues on the basis of proximity to home and friends:

*'Crownpoint [local Glasgow Life facility] is the centre of where me and all my friends stay. Wherever we go, that's always like the centre (Danny, Wave 2).*



*'It's just easier for me to come to Whitehill [local Glasgow Life facility], 'cause there's a gym here anyway. I know that one [Velodrome] is supposed to be bigger and all that. I'd maybe go but it's just easier for me to come up here because it's much closer' (Leona, Wave 2).*

Attribution to the CWG was found to be inconclusive. For some, the CWG was designated as the catalyst for a newfound interest in physical activity, intimating the presence of a 'festival' rather than a 'demonstration' effect, based on the desire to be part of something that is significant on a large scale (Weed et al., 2009):

*'It was in the summer [when the CWG took place] that I've started [going to the gym] and I've been kicking on since then' (Said, Wave 2).*

*'When that [Velodrome] were built, me and my friend thought let's go along and see what it's like. It looked fine and we enrolled and then we got our induction. We just started going' (Emma, Wave 1).*

By contrast, others such as Morag were reluctant to attribute behavioural changes to the CWG (*'I think it was going to happen anyway. I don't think it [the CWG] was such a big effect' (Wave 2)*), preferring to regard going to the gym as a normal 'rite of passage' phenomenon. This is not to say that the CWG might not have influenced behaviour in respect of the timing of their initiation, or their continued use of the gym, but no evidence was found to support this interpretation. Notwithstanding, the data indicated a high incidence in this group of 'lapsing' behaviour, for reasons of motivation, time pressure, or, in one instance, disrupted access:

*'I just couldn't be bothered anymore' (Peter, Wave 2).*

*'I just...I don't know...I've never really had the time kinda thing, like studying for prelims and things, and then dance class three times a week' (Caitlin, Wave 1).*

*'And then it [5-a-side pitches at Velodrome] closed down for the CWG, so we couldn't go anyway, and that's when we just stopped' (Colin, Wave 2).*

### **6.2.2.3 Inactive non-users**

The final and third group comprised inactive young people who had not used the sports facilities at the time of fieldwork and did not contemplate doing so in the future. The primary reason was lack of interest: *'No-one's stopping me. I just don't want to go' (Adam, Wave 2)*. When asked who would most likely use the new facilities, a typical response was *'people who are interested in the type of sport. If you've got the interest in sports' (Ben, Wave 1)*. As

with the first group, there was no indication here of gendered patterning. One girl said that she did not have enough information to decide if it was for her or not: *'I don't even know anything about it, what clubs are there or whatever'* (Lisa, Wave 1). Critically, an unintended, though entirely foreseeable, consequence of incorporating local East End facilities into the city-wide leisure provision was the introduction of cost barriers for some: *'See Glasgow Life gyms are a lot dearer. Crownpoint, it was just its own East End Healthy Living Centre, but now that it's all Glasgow Life, it's a lot dearer'* (Kieran, Wave 1). This new scenario explained why an aspiring professional footballer was an outlier in this third group: *'I don't think if I just walked up to my mum, and said 'give me £30 for a gym membership' .... She might give it to me, but I don't know'* (Todd, Wave 2). His unwillingness to put pressure on the household purse meant that he had excluded himself from sporting opportunities which undoubtedly would have been beneficial to him.

In summation, this study provides evidence that those who gained most from the new sporting facilities were existing sport participants. This finding corresponds with evaluations of previous sporting events (Brown and Massey, 2001, Coalter, 2004, Murphy and Bauman, 2007, Weed et al., 2015), which found that increased sport participation was largely accounted for by increased frequency, or activity-switching, amongst those already positively disposed towards sport. In terms of horizons, the outcome of interest for this study, there were indications that these same young people were well placed to benefit from investment in sporting infrastructure in terms of potential progression along a sports performance pathway. The corollary is that there was no indication of a sporting legacy impact on young people who were disinterested in sport. However, the impact on a middle group of occasional users was more difficult to read. On the one hand, there were positive indications of first time use of local facilities, and this was indeed encouraging. However, at the same time, use was limited to a sub-set of the sporting opportunities available, mainly gym workouts or exercise classes, and there was no evidence of individuals joining sports clubs which might extend friendship groups or routinise their participation in sport and exercise. For them, a far better investment in sporting infrastructure would have been in smaller, more localised venues. Finally, the data revealed the consequence of assimilating East End venues into a city-wide pricing structure, in terms of creating barriers to participation and accentuating social inequalities for some young people.

### 6.3 A 'Connectivity' Legacy

The underpinning assumption in the LM was that young people in deprived communities might be excluded from opportunities beyond their locale. For this reason, this study was interested in investigating the extent to which a series of Glasgow 2014-related measures, including an improved urban walking and cycling network; a mass cycle hire scheme; and the construction of the East End Regeneration Route, might have encouraged young people to travel beyond their spatial 'comfort zones' in order to secure greater opportunities for education, training, employment, leisure and social relationships (White and Green, 2011). This hypothesised legacy impact corresponds with the OECD's (2010) conceptual framework of how cities might capture local benefits from global events: 'Transport links and other infrastructures constructed for the event are one of the most visible lasting legacies for a host city and can have real impacts on social inclusion if targeted at previously excluded groups' (p.13).

Data from key informants confirmed the assumption of spatial constraints for some pupils, highlighting current and future implications. Thus, PE staff shared stories of pupils refusing to cross territorial boundaries to access local sports facilities (*'It would probably affect some of our pupils who will not want to walk somewhere to go to a local club, if it's in a certain place'* (2014 Lead, School A). Further, Depute Heads discussed the difficulties encountered by pupils during the critical transitional Senior Phase, when choices were made relating to post-16 destinations, specifically college and university applications: *'They want to stay in Glasgow. The West End is even scary for them, you know, they're very much wanting to stay in the East End of the city'* (Depute Head, School B). Invariably, place attachment was perceived by key informants to be of the 'wrong kind', akin to a form of pathological entrapment, against which they were *'fighting hard'* so that young people might *'break free'*. This negative construction was evident in key informant accounts, irrespective of the aetiology and its associated emotions. Consequently, family bonds (love; comfort), usually regarded as positive, were itemised by them alongside negative aspects such as territoriality (fear) and community norms (low aspirations). The paradox is evident in the following excerpt:

*'I just think, for some of them, it's the family thing, from talking to different parents and working with parents, it's like, granny lives round the corner, and the aunt, and there's nothing wrong with that..it's a tradition thing, and it's a really nice thing...but I also think that it's a shame that would in any way become a barrier for them actually like moving away and doing other things*

*and achieving other things as well. There's a huge world out there' (Pastoral Care Teacher, School A).*

The 'localisation' of participant horizons, evident in the above quotation, is consistent with previous empirical work with disadvantaged young people by MacDonald et al. (2005). This issue will be examined more closely in the final section of the chapter when future spatial aspirations are benchmarked against the dialectic of 'dwelling' and 'journey'.

Improved links between the East End and the rest of Glasgow was the first port of call in attempting to identify a 'connectivity' legacy outcome. However, this study found that the link between the study area and the city centre was unproblematic for young people. All participants reported making regular visits to the city centre, albeit with differentiated frequencies, for a range of consumption-based leisure pursuits such as watching a film, eating out, or simply walking round the shops. Excursions into town were usually undertaken with friends, illustrating the increased spatial autonomy and socialisation normally associated with later teenage years (Morrow, 2000). The proximal location of the East End to the heart of the city received especial mention, as did its ease of access, either on foot or by public transport (none reported use of the cycle hire scheme at time of fieldwork), as evidenced by the following responses to an open question about the good aspects of living there:

*'It's just because it's so easy to get everywhere, 'cause it's right in the centre. It's just so easy' (Caitlin, Wave 1).*

*'Because you know you have all these advantage points, you're close to the city centre and then you've got the Royal Infirmary and Emergencies, and that kinda stuff, and it's connected to all sorts, it's a good place (Colin, Wave 1).*

Indeed, the route between the East End and the city centre was reported to be so routinely travelled that a Pastoral Care Teacher classified it as falling within the normal spatial range for all pupils: *'Because they're so close to town, I think that some of them just go to town and back, and that what they're used to'.* In this respect at least, the CWG had little or no influence to bring to bear.

Notwithstanding, the data indicated that encouraging the reverse flow of travel, *into* the East End, might be a worthwhile legacy impact, directly attributable to the hosting of the CWG. A Depute Head made reference to the fact that some young teachers were planning to move into the neighbourhood, with one of them having already placed a deposit for a dwelling in the Athletes' Village. Similarly, many young people anticipated that outsiders would be

encouraged to visit the East End because of the new attractions there, with one girl describing the Velodrome as an important landmark destination in her locale: *'Yeah, well, most people think of Dalmarnock as the place where the Velodrome is. That's how a lot of people think of Dalmarnock, because, other than houses, there's not really anything significant there, other than now the Velodrome'* (Louise, Wave 1). Importantly, the perception was commonly held amongst young people that, prior to the hosting of the CWG, outsiders would ordinarily have had no incentive to visit the East End, or indeed might have avoided the area deliberately, because of its negative image and reputation. In this respect, the hosting of the CWG in the East End would permit visitors to acquire first-hand experience of the area: *'They'll think this is quite nice and then they'll go along, and they'll see the Velodrome and the areas around there and all round Barrowfield and think, oh this is like a nice area, this looks quite nice, this looks like an okay place to live in'* (Danny, Wave 1). This statement highlights an issue with the social representation of place, suggesting that a useful legacy outcome might reside in enabling the East End to exhibit *'a different side to what's been publicised'* (Calum, Wave 1). This point is elaborated below in a Legacy of Pride in the East End (see 6.4).

Despite ease of access to the city centre however, spatial constraints were evident elsewhere, both within the study area, and beyond to other parts of Glasgow. These were accounted for by gangs and gang-related activity in the East End. In the current study, the conceptualisation of 'gangs' by young people and key informants was inconsistent and difficult to grasp. This finding supports the view in the literature that 'gangs' is a flexible and nebulous term, spanning a range of different types of youth association, from groups of young people with little territorial affiliation to organised criminal gangs (Deuchar and Holligan, 2008, Fraser, 2013, Kintrea et al., 2008). In this study, gangs would occasionally fall under the adult 'criminological gaze' (Fraser, 2013): for example, when young people recounted parents' gang-related narratives from the past; or when key informants cited police reports which consolidated the reputation of the area as having a 'gang problem'. For the most part however, gangs were understood by research participants as a discrete strand of youth sub-culture. In this respect, they bore an uncanny resemblance to descriptions of 1960s gangs in the pioneering research by Jephcott (1967) in the East End: "large formless groups", some of whom were 'so loosely structured that they hardly merited the term 'gang'' (p. 95).



**Figure 6.1**      **Good and Bad Aspects of Neighbourhood: Tag Cloud**

While a sizeable minority had not directly witnessed gang-related activity, all were nonetheless aware of gangs as a lurking presence. The ‘tag cloud’<sup>18</sup> in Figure 6.1 visualises the dominance of gangs in young people’s responses to questioning about the good and bad aspects of their neighbourhood and supports the status of gangs as a powerful community norm: *‘It’s just a bit annoying because of the gangs. But it’s alright because I was born there - I’m used to it’* (Kieran, Wave 1). While this local norm operated at a subconscious level for those born in the East End, as a taken-for-granted social phenomenon, the same could not be said for study participants belonging to families of migrants or asylum seekers. The story of a boy, of African origin, is particularly striking in this respect; having talked about his initial shock on seeing ‘*people chasing each other and stuff*’, he conceded that his attitudes towards gang activity had evolved over time: *‘Because I’ve got used to it, maybe I’ve got used to seeing it. I dunno. I think it’s because I feel..now I’ve lived here really long. I understand the place more and how it goes, and I know where places to avoid, and not to go, like that kind of thing’* (Todd, Wave 1). However, this habituation to local norms came at a personal cost because it required him to suppress an instinctive response to intervene: *‘Most of the time, I feel like a bit angry that no-one’s doing anything about it. Sometimes I feel that I should do something but, I feel, it’s crazy, it’s none of my business. But I feel something should be done’* (Wave 1). Similarly, Helen remarked that she had become accustomed to groups of youths hanging about in her neighbourhood: *‘cause when I first moved there, I thought, when*

<sup>18</sup> A tag cloud is a visualisation of the results of a word frequency query within NVivo software. The cloud shows the words that appear most often, which are displayed alphabetically, with the size and density of the font indicating frequency.

*I first seen them, I was really afraid and I didn't know....I was just like...I was a bit concerned most of the time, but then I'm kinda used to them now'* (Wave 1). These quotations affirm the potency of local norms and their assimilation by local people following cumulative exposure over time. In the following paragraphs, the spatial behaviours pertaining to territorial and non-territorial young people are examined in turn.

### 6.3.1 Territorial Young People

For a sizeable minority of young people, territoriality curtailed mobility to within delineated spatial boundaries and restricted entry into other neighbourhoods, both within and beyond the East End. Although the study sample did not knowingly recruit 'gang' members, it nevertheless captured accounts from several young people, both girls and boys, who were affiliated to territorially-defined social networks. The following statement is laden with meaning: *'Wait 'til you go inside [Calton]. Say Bridgeton [an adjacent neighbourhood], and you'll see what happens'* (Luke, Wave 1). In one short sentence, Luke manages to convey several key aspects of everyday life: the micro-geography of East End neighbourhoods; the restrictions on spatial mobility; and, on a more sinister note, the dangers attached to the transgression of territorial boundaries. Accordingly, one girl expressed her reluctance to enter into another area: *'they don't know where you're from and they don't know your face, they might fight you'* (Avril, Wave 1). A girl from a rival group struck a similar chord: *'because if you're from another area, you don't mix with other areas. Because I'm from Carntyne, I couldn't just walk into Cranhill and think nothing's going to happen. People would want to know who I am, where I'm from and everything else'* (Dionne, Wave 1).

Territoriality was fundamental to the way this group of young people behaved in their neighbourhoods. They were found to be members of these territorially-defined social networks exclusively, insofar as organised youth clubs, which the majority had frequented in the past, were no longer regarded by them as age-appropriate. Respondent accounts indicated that their main leisure activity involved walking about with no particular destination in mind:

*'Most of the time, we don't go anywhere'* (Kieran, Wave 1).

*'People like walking about the streets because it just gives us something to do'*  
(Avril, Wave 1).

When not out in the streets, they congregated in local housing schemes, parks or school grounds: *'everybody just meets together and we just sit there [football pitch near School A]. The only reason we sit there is because it's got a shelter, so when it's raining, we can just go in there'* (Dionne, Wave 1). Given its enactment in the public realm, behaviour in this group was regarded by adult authority figures as troublesome, evidenced by accounts from young people generally of being moved along by police officers under the auspices of tackling anti-social behaviour: *'because of ...if you're in a group of more than two, you're considered as a gang'* (Kieran, Wave 1). Some young people reported that routine policing practice such as this had been temporarily suspended during Games Time (see Chapter 7).

Several social and personal characteristics were associated with territoriality. Serendipity of place was an important factor insofar as growing up in a housing scheme known for territorial activity determined a young person's exposure to gangs: *'If you stay in an area, you're going to get to know the people that are in the gangs....But if you're in the scheme, you know them, you see them, you're friends with them'* (Danny, Wave 1). There were also intergenerational influences: *'some of them, it's because their family used to be part of it and all that'* (Kieran Wave 1). Finally, individual agency was critical: while some had made a conscious decision not to become involved in local gangs, others had found themselves unable to resist membership. In the following quotation, Manny placed himself in the former group:

*'As soon as you go into secondary, you really have to choose your friends carefully, cause if you're with the wrong group, then you'd go into different things like gangs and all that, so you have to choose your friends. But then some people just get pressured into going into that'* (Wave 1).

Manny's arrival into the East End eight years ago was an important contextual factor insofar as his 'incomer' status appeared to reduce his exposure to prevailing norms.

### 6.3.2 Non-territorial Young People

Other young people, although not affiliated to spatially defined groups, were nonetheless impacted by territoriality in their everyday lives. Personal safety emerged as a dominant theme in the interviews, especially for boys, with several providing direct witness or second-hand accounts of others, who had been victims of mistaken identity, or simply unfortunate to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. One boy claimed that he never ventured out alone: *'It [having gangs around the corner drinking] prevents me from going out, because I'm scared of going out. It's dangerous going out with all this going on around you'* (Calum,



*Wave 1*). Although boys seemed more vulnerable than girls, both genders spoke about the need for heightened vigilance when out and about in their neighbourhood: *'You just need to be a bit more cautious about what you're doing and where you are'* (Lisa, *Wave 1*).

Different strategies were brought into play, including avoiding streets which were notorious gang 'flashpoints'; taking public transport rather than walking through certain areas; or avoiding eye contact when encountering groups of other young people hanging about. Some admitted to staying indoors at the perceived peak trouble times of evenings or weekends. There were also numerous examples of parentally-imposed restrictions, including the establishment of curfew hours, surveillance use of mobile phones, or, for those with car access, being driven by parents to their destination. Negative effects of territoriality on other young people is consistent with the literature (Kintrea et al., 2008, Neary et al., 2013). Cahill (2000) conceptualises the construction of place-based identity as an aspect of building 'street literacy'. Part of this process involves learning how to negotiate the neighbourhood environment. These behaviours reflect the consequences of a general 'insecurity' model, one of many suggestions from Buck (2001) in attempting to explain causality of neighbourhood influence. According to this model, high perceived levels of social disorder in a community have an indirect, detrimental effect on the life chances of neighbourhood residents.

Several young people were quick to declare their disassociation from perceived normative behaviour. Thus, one girl claimed that she and her friendship group spent time in each other's houses *'because we don't like to hang about the street corners or anything'* (Emma, *Wave 1*). Similarly, in the following statement, a boy set himself apart from the stereotypical portrayal of young people or 'neds', drinking in public: *'We just walk about. Just things like that. I don't drink or anything, so we don't do that'* (Ben, *Wave 1*). The finding that young people blamed other young people for giving the entire neighbourhood a bad name is in line with previous studies (Jephcott, 1967, Kintrea et al., 2008, Neary et al., 2013).

Notwithstanding perceived and real dangers for young people, most claimed that there had been some marginal improvement, with reports that gang activity had become *'quieter'* or had *'calmed down'* over recent years. Ben claimed that more young people were now going to college which had the effect of keeping them *'off the streets'* (*Wave 1*); while several attributed more recent improvements to increased community policing. A few reported feeling safer simply because they were older and felt more confident moving around their area. Only one participant attributed the change to the CWG because, in her view, it had increased the leisure or diversionary possibilities available to young people:

*'But right now, most of the people don't have that much time. Them boys who used to do gangs, they don't have that time of standing outside waiting to mock someone and do something like that. Because there are other things that they can do, they can go to the gym, they can do that. So I think it's taking more of their time (...) than being outside and disturbing people' (Ellie, Wave 2).*

Examination of statements relating to gang activity showed the issue to be nuanced and complex. A particular challenge was the reference point used in accounts, with some young people comparing the current situation to dramatic gang narratives from their parents' youth or to media reporting, resulting in a conflation of youth gangs with criminal gangs. Nonetheless, most participant accounts constructed gangs as an everyday aspect of living in the East End, making their presence a durable one, resistant to change: *'I wouldn't think that [gangs] would go away. Because there'll be always gangs in here' (Lisa, Wave 1).* Interestingly, Lisa's opinion remained unchanged over time: *'Because I think it's [gang activity] just a part of Glasgow culture' (Wave 2).*

In summary, the data suggested that improved transport infrastructure would benefit outsiders in the first instance who would be attracted to visit the East End to enjoy the new leisure amenities there. With regard to local young people, there was no evidence of legacy benefits, although it is not inconceivable that benefits might accrue in the near future for those electing to travel across the city for training, education or leisure purposes. By contrast, improved transport infrastructure is unlikely to alter the life chances of a sizeable minority of young people who currently lead spatially constrained lives. This study found territoriality to be a highly durable community norm in the East End which brought negative consequences for all its young people, including those not manifesting territorial behaviour. These adverse effects were primarily experienced at the level of spatial constraints and feelings of personal safety within the East End.

## **6.4 A Reputational Legacy: 'Pride in the East End'**

A much-vaunted outcome in legacy discourse was improvement in the physical appearance of Glasgow, particularly in the East End (Glasgow City Council, 2009). In the main, young people viewed these physical changes positively because they made the area look more *'presentable'*. These aspects were directly attributable to the hosting of the CWG: *'Cause like the place does look so nice and it's all there, like the CWG has done this for us. If it wasn't for that, then maybe the place wouldn't look as nice' (Caitlin, Wave 2).* The scale of transformation received frequent mentions, underscoring the area's physical trajectory during the pre-CWG preparation phase: *'I don't know how they won it back in 2007 the way*

*Glasgow looked. Glasgow wasn't exactly looking good back then* (Ben, Wave 1). Several participants provided detailed 'before' and 'after' accounts. The description below conveys a particularly vivid account of the changes in the Bridgeton area:

*'Well, the station itself, it has Bridgeton on it, there was three letters on it. That, it wasn't really nice. And the Olympia, have you seen the Olympia, that was all, like, moss and plants growing out of it, the windows were all done in. Wood over windows, that kind of stuff. They've [Clyde Gateway] have done it all up into a library arena, boxing upstairs as well and some offices. So they've done quite a lot there as well. They've made it look really nice looking actually. It's made it very attractive looking'* (Calum, Wave 1).

Accounts revealed that the physical changes had engendered new feelings of pride: *'I just think, when people, like my family ...cause I have family over in America, and they come over quite often...so when they come here, they're like, the place is looking good and things like that, and you'll just feel a bit proud'* (Caitlin, Wave 2). Some expressed their hope that this newfound pride in surroundings would make people feel *'less angry about the fact that their place was not nice'* and would motivate them to look after it: *'It's like getting an old toy, you not going to want to play with it. And they've got a new toy, so they'll take care of it now'* (Morag, Wave 1). Manzo (2003) argues that disruption causes people to become more conscious of their physical environment. Although the author had in mind negative stimuli such as burglary, disaster, or relocation, the disruption in this case might be better understood as 'positive disruption', insofar as the changes were perceived to signal a break with the past, offering a fresh start, and bringing new hope.

In this respect, the legacy outcome most widely anticipated by young people was a reversal of image and reputation, in terms of an unique opportunity to 're-imagine' the East End: *'I think it will actually change a lot of stuff around here in the East End because the East End usually, if you think about it, people usually say negative things about it. I think now it's time to change that negativity to make it into a positive aspect'* (Ellie, Wave 1). Place associations with gang-fighting, crime, substance abuse, benefits dependency, and poor health were well rehearsed in individual narratives, and all participants were aware of, and extremely sensitive to, the negative representation of the East End by outsiders. This finding is consistent with the literature (Forrest, 2008) in foregrounding the contextual effect of the labelling of neighbourhoods. The following quotation is typical and shows the impact on personal identity of negative messages received from others about one's place of residence: *'I think if you told somebody that you came from the East End, I think they'd probably think that's a bit bad really'* (Lisa, Wave 1). Indeed, the accounts evoked the notion of a 'stigmata', in the

literal sense of a mark of disgrace or infamy; or a stain or reproach on the character of East End residents, akin to a burden of reputation accrued over time. Consequently, all residents felt stigmatised by their place of residence: *'Like, cause it's a stereotype. Like they're basically labelling the full place but there's actually some people in it that are good people'* (Ben, Wave 1). In a digital age, the stigma had even achieved global penetration, with an online gamer amused to find himself the object of place-based humour: *'On-line, for example, I'm connected with other countries (laughs), and when you mention, you're from Glasgow, [they say] 'oh look out, he's going to stab you!''* (Peter, Wave 1).

This study found evidence of pathological conflation between the East End and the rest of Glasgow, enabling a distinction to be drawn between London 2012 and Glasgow 2014. While London was positioned as the exemplary benchmark, against which East London was regarded as a 'problematic place' (Thompson et al., 2013), this study found that the narratives for Glasgow and its East End were identical, with the two spatial denominators used interchangeably to denote negative aspects of place. In this respect, one girl believed that the East End was deployed as a scapegoat for all of Glasgow's social and health problems:

*'Because everything all gets pinpointed to the East End of Glasgow, everything that happens. It's like as if the East End of Glasgow is just pure bad, like everything happens with us. Cause even with the fat, we get pinpointed for that because the East End of Glasgow, like it's all the chippies and stuff like that'* (Dionne, Wave 1).

Invariably, the insider/outsider dialectic prompted comparisons with its antithesis, the West End, which was portrayed as socially distinctive: *'Like the East End to the West End. If you go into the West End, the West End's like more.....I don't know how to like say it.. like, the West End's more like posh, like it's got more a good reputation, whereas the East End's got a bad one'* (Ben, Wave 1). Frequent mention was also made of their belief that they were looked down upon by people in the West End: *'they just kinda think they're above the East End kind of thing'* (Caitlin, Wave 1).

This study provided useful insight into the psychological impact of place reputation, in the sense of place getting 'under the skin' (Hooper, 2013). Several young people mentioned that they sometimes felt embarrassed to say that they lived in the East End, especially if they were talking to outsiders. In line with previous literature, the findings indicated an adverse effect on personal self-esteem (Macintyre, 2002, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996). However, there was evidence of impact at a more profound level. The following account from a PE

teacher described the sudden and dramatic loss of self-confidence experienced by some of her pupils when entering unfamiliar settings:

*'Sometimes, we would take our pupils to Glasgow city-wide sports days and things like that, and there's some national events too. Some of the confidence goes..I'm just from the east end, look at them, look at the size of them'. If you take them maybe to an athletics event, they're very, very nervous, they'll have a wee look around at other people. There's maybe private schools there, there's maybe schools from other areas of the city, and they do notice them being a bit bigger, a bit stronger. So there is ..not for all of them, we do still have the odd pupil who's more than capable of going along and very confident, but sometimes we even find that, with the very best of our pupils that win events at these competitions, you're almost having to..when you get there, force them to go and do their best' (2014 Lead, School A).*

This scenario exemplifies the notion of 'hexis corporal', conceptualised by Bourdieu as the physical embodiment of 'habitus', suggesting that an individual's past history and current disposition is inscribed corporally in terms of their posture, gait and stride (cited in Grenfell, 2008).

Despite references to bad aspects of place outweighing good aspects in the interviews by almost 3:1, there was universal agreement that the negative portrayal of the East End by others was unjust and unrepresentative. This belief accounted for the defensive stance taken in the interviews with an 'outsider' researcher: *'I think people have heard about gangs, and it's supposed to be rough but it isn't. People just believe that it's rough and everyone's dead vicious, but they're not. They're not' (Chris, Wave 1)*. Particular criticism was levelled against outsiders who had judged the area from a position of ignorance: *'But I think you do need to come and see it, and you need to live in it for a few years before you can actually say... come out with a statement and say that it's a bad area to live in. Because I don't think it is' (Said, Wave 1)*. The media were especially culpable in this respect, with news reports and TV documentaries regarded by young people as simply reinforcing negative stereotypes of people living in deprived neighbourhoods, a perception recently validated by a content analysis of Glasgow newspaper articles (Kearns et al., 2013). Special criticism was reserved for the three-part BBC documentary, entitled Commonwealth City, broadcast in the weeks before the CWG: *'That [the documentary] showed people that were getting into trouble and stuff like that, and that to me..that's kinda how people who aren't from the East End view the East End anyway, so I think that just kinda confirmed what they believe it will be like' (Lisa, Wave 2)*. For this reason, many were at pains to balance the negativity with the more positive aspects of living there, with the most commonly mentioned aspect being the friendliness of people. Moreover, a few reflected on the advantage of gaining a more 'rounded' perspective

on life, in contrast to their view of privileged young people living comparatively sheltered lives elsewhere: *'It's good because it's a humble upbringing, which is what I think is better sometimes in that you're more grounded, and you're not full of yourself, you know'* (Said, Wave 1).

#### 6.4.1 'A False Identity'?

From young people's accounts, it might appear that the Place Transformation mechanism has 'worked' in terms of creating a different identity for the East End and thereby easing the collective burden of reputation and improving individual self-esteem.

Yet, at the same time, many young people talked about their concerns regarding the catalyst for these physical improvements. Their accounts indicated that the physical transformation had been triggered not by local needs but by the prospect of the spotlight falling imminently on the city environs; and of incomers (athletes, tourists, spectators, TV audiences, and inward investors) flooding into the East End during the Games. This viewpoint is supported by an OECD (2010) report which includes the following statement about the potential environmental benefits of hosting a global event: 'With global attention turning on a city with the arrival of the event, city authorities can justify using funds to carry out much-needed, but perhaps not previously top priority, work on the built environment to give it a facelift' (p.13). In other words, social returns are more a by-product of hosting, rather than a priority in their own right. The resultant hierarchy, whereby social needs are ranked below those of the media spotlight, was illustrated in an account from a key informant about two East End primary schools, which were *'in a shocking state'* prior to recent CWG-inspired improvement work in the area. One boy understandably identified this as a moral issue when he asked: *'Like, they [event organisers and city leaders] obviously had the money to do it [make changes] before, so why didn't they do it before? I know the CWG cost big money, but if they could find the money to do it then, why did they not just do it earlier?'* (Ben, Wave 2). This rhetorical question suggests that a mega sporting event such as the CWG might be more accurately constructed as a 'crafted spectacle' (Harvey, 2005, Hiller, 2006, Murphy and Bauman, 2007). Accordingly, the considerable work undertaken by the event organisers in the period leading up to the CWG might be likened to the production of a theatrical set in readiness for a forthcoming stage performance.

Two main considerations support the characterisation of the CWG as a spectacle. Firstly, there were accusations of superficiality, with efforts to transform place perceived by young

people to be focused largely around the sporting stadia and main arterial routes into the East End, where the footfall of visitors would be most concentrated: *'It just seems like they only fixed up certain places, and then they left other places which weren't as important. It just didn't seem fair(..), and it just so happened that they places were shown on camera or the busiest places'* (Ben, Wave 2). Consequently, young people living in distal neighbourhoods had little or no expectation of place improvement:

*'Like, the wee areas are still the same, but big areas where the new sports things have been built and all that are changed'* (Gill, Wave 1).

*'I think it's more just outside the city centre near the stadiums and things'* (Chris, Wave 1).

*'Like, all the bits that people actually go are clean next to the Velodrome, next to Dalarnock Station, all the Athletes' Village, that's really clean, but everything else is just kinda messy, cause they [GCC] don't really care'* (Louise, Wave 1).

In some instances, changes amounted to little more than 'beautification' measures, evoking the notion of 'Potemkin villages' (see Chapter 2), intended to create a fake impression or to hide undesirable conditions from outsiders. A striking example arose in the boys' focus group when discussion turned to the re-painting of the Bellgrove Hotel<sup>19</sup> in the months before the CWG. The following extract shows their appreciation of the irony involved:

*'Plus you look at Bellgrove now, you know..that place..it's a nice place...like, it's all done up now. What does that mean? Is that so people can drive by and think that's nice, but they don't know what kind of stuff goes on inside it'* (Luke, Wave 1).

In a similar vein, a boy recalled the arrival of 'props' during a pre-event surge of activity and their removal immediately afterwards: *'Just like a kinda false identity, leaving flowers and lovely things about, like these had always been there, and the minute the Games are done, you're driving past seeing a council van lifting flower pots up and putting them in the back of a truck'* (Danny, Wave 2). By the same token, objectionable aspects were perceived by young people to have been deliberately removed from the spotlight. Dionne blamed the council for pushing housing schemes like hers out of the way in order to render them invisible to visitors: *'Like as if they've just shoved all the bad stuff out of the way..(..) because*

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<sup>19</sup> This local landmark received frequent mentions by young people in this study as a place to avoid. A privately-owned hostel for homeless men with alcohol-related problems, the 'Bellgrove' had been the subject of a Scottish national tabloid undercover investigation into its slum conditions.

*it's going to be people from all over the world that's coming' (Wave 1); while Calum recounted how drug addicts had been temporarily relocated: 'They took all the drug addicts to caravan sites and all that. Like the City Council took them to caravan sites so the tourists wouldn't see that part of Glasgow. But now they're back, so it's [drug problem] back' (Wave 2). Although it was not possible to validate whether marginalised groups had indeed been removed, as was the case for Vancouver 2010 and London 2012 (Kennelly and Watt, 2011), it is Calum's perceptual reading of the situation which is of primary interest here.*

Secondly, the data revealed a tension between imposition and empowerment, a risk foreseen in the Glasgow 2014 HIA (Glasgow Centre for Population Health, 2008). There was spontaneous discussion in the interviews about people having change done 'to them', rather than 'with them'. A high degree of sensitivity was found surrounding the appropriateness of the change agent, with contradictory views expressed about the extent to which local people felt that the recent changes had been imposed on them. Calum attributed the changes in his neighbourhood to Clyde Gateway. In the following statement, he welcomes the fact that the transformation is being executed by an organisation regarded by him as an 'insider' by virtue of the office's location in the heart of the area: *'Yeah, Clyde Gateway. There's actually a little office at Bridgeton Cross. It's actually stationed there, so it's' not as if they've come from a different part of Glasgow, and they don't know anything about the place' (Wave 1).* Ben echoes Calum's belief in the importance of local agency but arrives at a different interpretation. According to him, local people had interpreted the changes as an imposition by outsiders. He explains that *'most people just don't like change and things. They like the way that they like it and they don't like to have other people changing it for them. They'd rather if they were going to change it, they'd change it themselves' (Wave 1).* Others were critical of past regeneration efforts. Regarding demolition, some participants expressed views, which were consistent with the concept of 'place-referent continuity', theorised by Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) to explain people's need to maintain some continuity with the past, especially for places which had particular emotional significance for them. The following quotation indicates that the requirement to have a 'dialogue between past and present' (Sennett, 2007) had not been heeded by urban planners:

*'Look at Easterhouse and all. It's all flattened land as well around it. There used to be like flats and everything. My ma stayed there when she was wee and she told us all about it. Like, there's nothing there from the past. I'm not trying to say, just stick with the past and just let it rot, but, like, stick with the past and try and make it safe' (Luke, Wave 1).*



By the same token, new build brought unintended consequences for some participants. One boy's story conveys his feeling of situational incongruence, akin to a form of 'virtual' displacement (Raco, 2004, Smith, 2009), insofar as he perceived that his 'old' home no longer sat comfortably within its 'new' surroundings:

*'Where I stay, it's like old tenements from the 1800s, and all that, there's a sign on them. And then it's brand new houses that are just built with solar panels on them and all that. My close just looks out of place. It looks as if it shouldn't be there. Everybody's like, are they knocking them down, they look horrible' (Kieran, Wave 1).*

The characterisation of place transformation as spectacle preparation raises two important issues. The first one concerns sustainability, with many aware that, with the CWG stimulus removed, there would no longer be an interest in making the East End a better place:

*'I don't know if it'll have the same investment as it has had. 'Cause there's not the ...with the CWG, they obviously had to do it, and there was a need to do it. Now it wouldn't be top of their priority' (Gerry, Wave 2).*

*'I think they put.... a lot more effort came because they knew the Commonwealth was coming, and because the CWG's away now, they've just went back to normal' (Avril, Wave 2).*

One boy had witnessed the operational winding down post-Games of a key player: *'There's one Clyde Gateway building at the corner, but they had two buildings, but they've shut themselves down, they've scaled it back' (Danny Wave 2).* Secondly, the question remains whether it is safe to assume that social change necessarily follows physical change. Young people readily distinguished between the physical and social dimensions of place. In the focus groups, participants were asked to score (1-10) in accordance with the extent to which they felt that the CWG had changed the East End. Nearly all gave a composite score to begin with, but then progressed spontaneously onto differential scorings based on their separate assessments of physical and social changes in the area. The following quotation demonstrates this evaluative process:

*'I don't think new buildings is a big massive change, so that's why I've only put a 2. I just think it's a wee change, like, cause I see [the statement that 'Glasgow 2014 has changed the East End for ever'] as meaning that it's changed the people of the East End and the way we look at things, not just the physical aspect, so that's why I put a 2 (Leona, Wave 2).*

Across the sample, there was broad agreement that the physical transformation had not resulted in social renewal:

*'There'd be a difference [if Glasgow had not won the CWG bid] in like the skyline around Glasgow. There wouldn't be a Velodrome, there wouldn't be new sports facilities, but there wouldn't be a difference with us. We'd still be the same people living in the same area doing the same things' (Danny, Wave 1).*

*'It's not going to change the people, it's just going to change the area and how it looks, it's not going to change the people in the community and stuff' (Ellie, Wave 1).*

*'It's [change] a bit superficial, like it's not a real social legacy so much..it's more of an artificial legacy in that you've got the stadium, you've got the Emirates Arena and all that, but you've not really got a social change' (Said, Wave 2).*

*'The people are still the same' (Ben, Wave 2).*

As the timings of these statements suggest, there was no evidence of attitudinal shift between Waves 1 and 2, leading to the conclusion that opinions in this regard were largely unaffected by the CWG sporting event itself.

## 6.5 'Should I Stay or Should I Go?'

The next section examines people-place relationships from a future-oriented perspective. The question was asked of participants where they would like to live in the future, on the basis that their responses would say much about their current evaluation of the place in which they lived and their perception of its social and economic trajectory. In an existential sense, this line of inquiry also provided insight to place identity and place attachment, in terms of revealing young people's immersion in their world and their expectations about reaching to new places. As noted in Chapter 3, the literature tends to eulogise geographical mobility as an antidote to parochialism in a global era (Skrbis et al., 2013). Manzo (2003) conceptualises the decision-making process involved in terms of the dialectic of 'dwelling' and 'journey'. In this study, the same question about future place ('where do you see yourself living when you're 21 years old?') was asked twice, at Wave 1 and Wave 2 stages of fieldwork, on the basis that, although most of the physical transformation had already happened by Wave 1, the staging of the CWG event might have altered views in some way. Four clusters of young people were identified according to their attachment to the East End, and these are considered in turn below.

### 6.5.1 'A Route Out of Here'

The first group comprised a few individuals who displayed a high level of cognitive 'spatial dexterity' insofar as they demonstrated their ability in the interviews to move effortlessly up and down the different scales of neighbourhood identified by Kearns and Parkinson (2001). Although born in the East End, their accounts indicated an absence of affinity with community norms, defined by them as welfare dependency, place attachment, and low aspirations, with one boy positioning himself as an outlier: *'I'd see myself as being different from the rest' (Calum, Wave 1)*. This finding corresponds with the notion of 'place-congruent discontinuity' (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996), whereby place identification becomes a matter of social identification. Thus, people in this group were more likely to talk about moving to a place considered by them to be more compatible with their sense of self: *'I don't want to live in this area when I grow up. I want to go to a university, and I want to get a degree and hopefully get a job, which allows me to move to a more prosperous area' (Said, Wave 1)*. The depth of feeling was underscored in their deployment of emotive imagery such as finding an 'escape route' or a 'bridge' out of the East End. In this respect, the West End was cited as a desirable future destination.

In Wave 2, there were some notable, but inconsistent, shifts in responses to the same question. One participant retained his motivation to leave the East End on the basis that changes had not been profound enough to warrant a reversal of decision. In his view, the acid test was whether or not the East End represented a supportive environment in which to bring up a family:

*'I think things have gotten better, you know, like with all the things they've built, the arena obviously, there's Bridgeton Library which is great...but..I think I would rather like...you know, I mean this is foresight....but if you were raising a family, it's maybe better in another area, in a nicer part of the city' (Said, Wave 2).*

By contrast, another boy, deploying the same 'family-rearing' criterion, announced a shift in preference from an aspirational move to the West End at Wave 1 to a declaration of intent to leave his country of birth at Wave 2: *'I don't see Scotland as a place to live that would be fit for my kids to live in. I mean, I'm not saying that it's not a good country. I know it is, it's a beautiful and wonderful country, it's just I don't agree with it. I just don't agree with the way it's run' (Calum, Wave 2)*. A different stance again was taken by another respondent at Wave 2 who changed his mind in favour of staying in the East End: *'I just like the East End. All my friends are here...and my family all come from the East End, I'll probably just stay'*

(Gerry, Wave 2). Importantly, this declaration was followed by a statement that highlighted his expectation of needing to travel outside the East End for employment. A plausible explanation for this mind-shift might be related to the concept of self-efficacy (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996), in that the recently enhanced facility provision would support his elite sporting interests; and improved transport connectivity would facilitate access in the near future to employment opportunities across the city.

### 6.5.2 'Moving Out, Moving On'

A second group of individuals displayed a similar lack of place attachment as the above, but for markedly different reasons. As these young people were all incomers, the East End was not central to their identity, and they did not have the same historical and inter-generational involvement with the area as their peers did. Moreover, they were conscious of prevailing community norms in a way that some of their peers were not. Insofar as they were not rooted to place, their spatial aspirations were less about moving out, or escapism, and more about a progression along an already initiated pathway in pursuit of improved life chances. In other words, the reason that had brought their families to Glasgow was the very reason that they themselves were inclined to move on again. When asked about where they expected to be in the future, all of the respondents in this group aspired to leave the East End to a place not yet specified. As the excerpts below illustrate, these intentions remained unaltered over time:

*'Somewhere better ideally, but I don't know where' (Manny, Wave 1).*

*'I think I might move out from Glasgow to move about. I would just like to travel, go around the place. I just like to see new sights, learn new things about how people's cultures work and stuff' (Todd, Wave 1).*

*'I was thinking of either moving to Australia or Canada, but that will depend on how I get on [in my exams]' (Ellie, Wave 2).*

*'I probably see myself somewhere out of Scotland. It's not that I don't like Scotland. It's just because of the climate and the way the weather is, but I probably see myself out of Scotland, somewhere like America or New Zealand, even. I quite like these places' (Colin, Wave 2).*

*'I don't know where life will take me, to be quite honest, I'm not really sure. It just depends what I really want to do' (Helen, Wave 1).*

### 6.5.3 'Push/pull' of Neighbourhood

In contrast to the first two groups, some young people talked about their strong emotional bond with place and their rootedness in their neighbourhood. Unlike the first group, their reflection on spatial aspirations underscored a decision-making process involving a somewhat more tortured negotiation of the 'push and pull' of the place where they were born and had spent their formative years. Young people in this group described their attachment to local close knit family connections (*'I'd still like to stay with my mum and dad' (Emma, Wave 1)*) and to familiar places: *'I'm used to looking out my window and seeing those two big Gallowgate<sup>20</sup> skyscrapers, that just brings me home. I would miss that' (Morag, Wave 1)*. However, these feelings were offset by a desire to do well in life, entailing a necessary expansion of spatial horizons in order to pursue their career aspirations:

*'You choose your career, where it takes you in life. Obviously I don't think you'd want to leave home, but if you had the choice to have a better career, you would' (Chris, Wave 1).*

*'I want to get a job as a forensic psychologist but the careers adviser said that there's not many jobs for that here, so I'd maybe need to move somewhere else. So I might be living somewhere, not here' (Lisa, Wave 1).*

*'Because I've grown up here, it [leaving] might be quite hard but, I dunno, it might probably be worth it' (Gill, Wave 1).*

Given the presence of conflicting influences, it was not surprising to find greater flux within this group. Thus, Leona had shifted her mental frame between Waves 1 and 2 from one of 'dwelling' to 'journey'. This turnaround was prompted by a Biology lesson which brought to her attention the travel map developed by McCartney (2011) to illustrate the stark health inequalities within Glasgow. By contrast, Caitlin, having previously spoken confidently about her plans to move to America, where members of her extended family already lived, seemed in the follow-up interview to be more ambivalent about leaving: *'I dunno. It's just because this is where I've been brought up and like everybody's close by. It's not actually a bad area' (Wave 2).*

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<sup>20</sup> Deconstruction work began on one of the so-called Gallowgate Twins, Bluevale Tower, in January 2015. The neighbouring Whitevale tower is expected to be deconstructed in 2016.

### 6.5.4 Dwelling in the East End

The final category of young people, unaffected by the conflicting influences of the previous group, seemed content to dwell in familiar surroundings. The quotation from one participant is provided in full below, because it conveys personal agency and rational decision-making:

*'I'm still hoping to live in the East End when I'm older, because I was born here and I was brought up here, and I'll probably live here. And by the end, I will probably die here, because I've been brought up here. I know people that live in the East End and they all say like I want to leave here the minute that I'm 18, I'm moving out, I'm going to live somewhere else but I'd rather just stay here because it's not as bad as people make it out to be, like it's a nice place with nice people' (Danny, Wave 2).*

In this case, there was none of the sense of entrapment found in previous empirical studies (MacDonald et al., 2005) amongst young people in deprived areas. However, while Danny expressed his willingness to travel beyond the East End for employment (*'I could really just work anywhere. I'd be happy to travel around the city for whoever would give me a job. Any council or any place that would give me a job' (Wave 2)*), others provided more localised accounts of training or employment opportunities, suggesting that their future aspirations were shaped largely by their attachment to place (see Chapter 8).

## 6.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter was concerned with the environmental aspects of legacy and attempted to identify impacts on young people in the East End, based on three hypothesised causal pathways: sporting, connectivity, and pride. As noted below, these pathways were found to have commonality: namely, their activation was dependent on contextual individually-specific influences (sports participation; territorial behaviour; personal trajectories), which existed before the hosting of the CWG in the East End.

In line with previous studies, it was found that the investment in sporting infrastructure, whilst increasing the supply of sporting opportunities, benefitted primarily those with pre-existing sports habits. Although some young people reported using the gym for the first time, attribution to the CWG was inconclusive, and there was no evidence that this would impact on horizons in terms of widening social networks or spatial ranges. Furthermore, cost barriers were apparent, but these accounted for non-usage of facilities in one isolated case, with the most significant deterrents revealed to be attitudinal.

Similarly, improved transport infrastructure was not found to have an immediate or short-term impact on young people's everyday lives. This might be as expected, given the significant proportion of time young people spend in their local neighbourhood at this life stage; therefore, it does not preclude the future realisation of a potential legacy impact for some young people upon completion of their compulsory education, a time when key choices are made relating to education, work and relationships. Nevertheless, this study found that a sizeable minority were likely to be excluded from legacy benefits because of the spatial marginalisation of their lives, which remained unaltered.

There was a consensus amongst young people that the East End had undergone significant physical changes. While these were generally welcomed by them, doubts lingered about the true motives of event organisers, in the sense that physical changes were not perceived to have been done intrinsically i.e. for the benefit of local people. A possible explanation for this assessment might reside in the low community self-worth which was apparent in this study. Alternatively, it might reflect a sense of realism based on their experience of earlier waves of regeneration. However, the implications of such doubts are serious: at best, they risk attenuating legacy impacts and, at worst, exacerbating feelings of social exclusion and disempowerment. In this study, doubts regarding sustainability were also raised, given that the CWG spectacle had ended. This is a critical point because social renewal is dependent on young people's beliefs in an ongoing positive social trajectory for the East End, so that they might be motivated in the longer-term to 'opt-in' to the area, rather than the alternative stances of 'opt-out' or 'default'.

## Chapter 7 ‘Joining in the Spectacle’

### 7.1 Chapter Overview

In this chapter, the focus of attention switches from Place Transformation (‘Place’) to Participation & Engagement (‘People’). The latter mechanism has two distinctive features. First, in contrast to Place Transformation, the primary concern is about ‘doing’, in the sense that young people might actively engage with Glasgow 2014 in response to the rally call from event organisers to ‘Be Part of It’; secondly, it introduces a sociability dimension, involving interaction with others (‘Join In’), be it family, friends, or the wider community. With reference to expanded horizons, this mechanism conjectured that, in an ‘ideal world’ scenario, the hosting of the CWG would bring onto the radar of local young people unparalleled opportunities for new social encounters and new social experiences. Structurally, the chapter opens with an examination of the meaning and significance which young people attached to the hosting of the forthcoming CWG in their neighbourhood, including their planned engagement. The next section then considers young people’s actual engagement with the various cultural and sporting activities in the lead-up to the CWG and the event itself; while the final part interrogates young people’s retrospective accounts of the CWG with the intention of critically appraising the characterisation of the CWG as a social occasion with lasting social value.

### 7.2 Attitudes toward the CWG

In this study, attitudes are regarded as a useful predictor of future engagement insofar as young people are thought likely to act in accordance with the attitudes they hold about the CWG. This assumption is supported by the legacy literature which suggests that positive attitudes towards major sporting events are an important foundation for using such events to achieve social outcomes (Brown and Massey, 2001, Weed et al., 2009). Similarly, within the broader evaluation literature, theorists such as Pawson and Tilley (2004) underline the importance of attitudes in relation to explicating theories of change. According to the authors, the extent to which identified mechanisms are ‘fired’ is dependent on their ability to ‘permeate into the reasoning of the subjects’ (p.7).

Opinion polls are usually cited by bid proposers as necessary proof that they have secured universal public support (Cashman, 2003). In the case of Glasgow 2014, bid supporters claimed to have unanimity of support, described in official documentation as



'unprecedented' (CGF, 2005). Yet the desire to ascertain public response thereafter is often much reduced (Hiller and Wanner, 2011). There have been some notable exceptions however. Waitt (2001) conducted a survey of host city residents' enthusiasm for the Sydney 2000 OG before and during the event. For this task, he developed multi-dimensional attitudinal scales based on the following aspects: desire to attend; interest in being a volunteer; support for hosting; community spirit; civic and national pride; and level of excitement. Regarding the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics, Hiller and Wanner (2011) measured local opinion via a number of single-item indicators, including amongst others: the extent to which Vancouverites followed the Games; level of inconvenience experienced; perceived impact on the city; attitudes towards staged protests; and whether the OG were judged to be 'worth it'. Similarly, a 'Taking Part' survey for London 2012 explored public sentiment across all UK regions before and after the Games, including a comparison of these with the six Olympic Boroughs in the months preceding the event (TNS BMRB, 2012). Closer to home, Cleland et al. (2015) surveyed the host community before and after Glasgow 2014 to ascertain public support, intended and actual participation, and whether or not adult householders believed that the event hosting would have a positive or negative effect on them and their family.

Nonetheless, these attempts to 'measure' public opinion cannot fully capture the sociological complexity of sporting mega events. The use of a qualitative methodology in this study facilitated an exploratory approach which afforded due attention to the micro level of contextualisation. Attitudes were understood here under three broad headings: perceived benefits of hosting the CWG; feelings towards the hosting; and future engagement intentions. This conceptualisation is broadly in line with the commonplace view in social psychology that attitudes have three observable components, corresponding to cognitive, affective and behavioural responses to social objects (Rosenberg and Hovland, 1960). Before examining each of these in turn, consideration is given first to the major influences shaping attitudes towards the Games.

### **7.2.1 Attitudinal Influences**

Three influences upon attitudes towards the CWG were found in this study, namely: prior awareness of London 2012; media representations of the CWG; and young people's own expectations. These are discussed in turn in the following paragraphs.

### 7.2.1.1 *Influence of London 2012*

Responses to the question at Wave 1 ('what's the first thing you think of when people talk about Glasgow 2014?') indicated that the CWG was strongly associated with London 2012:

*'Probably the Olympic Games. I compare it to the Olympic Games' (Colin, Wave 1).*

*'The CWG and the Olympics sort of merge together for me!' (Chrissie, Wave 1).*

*'London 2012 was actually the first sorta, I don't really watch or even play sports but I did watch quite a lot of the 2012, and I actually really enjoyed watching it. It was very interesting. So I think the CWG will be good or even better' (Louise, Wave 1).*

Findings here were consistent with studies cited by Weed et al. (2009) which drew upon Social Representation Theory (Moscovici, 1981) to explain the social process, whereby respondents used past experience and prior knowledge as frames of reference. In this instance, Glasgow 2014's association with London 2012 was positive, insofar as it injected a high level of meaning and significance, not least because of the latter's universally-acknowledged prestige and status.

That said, the close association between London 2012 and Glasgow 2014 became problematic when young people were asked to differentiate between them. An exception was the competitive sportsperson in the sample who demonstrated a keen appreciation of the event's relative significance in the elite sporting world: *'I followed the CWG in Delhi last time but that's because I quite like sport and I watch most sport. Whereas I don't think.....whereas everybody watches the Olympics, I don't think everyone watches the Commonwealth in the same way' (Gerry, Wave 1)*. Those who attempted to distinguish between the two mega events did so on a number of fronts: with reference to their scale (*'It's kinda like a mini-Olympics for us' (Morag, Wave 1)*); their origins (Empire was mentioned in several accounts of the CWG, albeit erroneously with European cities receiving frequent mentions); and, finally, their candidacy (with London perceived as more advanced, more sophisticated, more attractive, and more famous than Glasgow): *'London, you're like, wow, London, everyone thinks London is a great place, wow, I want to go to London, and all that. You wouldn't say, oh Glasgow, let's go to Glasgow for a holiday' (Emma, Wave 1)*. However, these distinctions paled in comparison to the most significant one amongst them: that, while London 2012 was a geographically distal phenomenon, holding no particular significance

for most of the respondents, Glasgow 2014 was being hosted in their home city and taking place right on their doorstep. Proximity was found to be a recurrent theme in this study and a significant influence on planned and actual engagement with the CWG (see 7.2.4 and 7.3).

### **7.2.1.2 Media Influence**

Young people's accounts of the CWG were strikingly consistent, with the sporting event uniformly positioned by young people as a proud and defining moment in the city's history. In the following extract, Lisa (Wave 1) traced the source of the hyperbolic discourse: *'Like people might be talking about it, but the people around me [said with emphasis] aren't making that big a deal, it's more like people on the tele and stuff like that. Like the news reporters and stuff'*. The mediated construction of the hosting of the CWG as a 'big thing' was justified by young people on three counts: firstly, its uniqueness (*'Well, it is. It is historic. I don't know the last time we done it, or if they've ever done it here. But it's like a big thing for Glasgow'* (Louise, Wave 1)); secondly, its scale (*'mini Olympics'* (Chrissie, Wave 1)); and, finally, its global reach (*'Well, all the world is going to see Glasgow'* (Danny, Wave 1)). Indeed, this study found that the influence of the media stretched back to 2007, with many young people recalling an episode from their Primary School days, when TV cameras filmed their choreographed responses to the announcement of Glasgow's winning bid. Although the specifics of the event were already hazy, they nevertheless understood its significance (their city winning the bid) and meaning (something worthy of celebration). The influence of media coverage of the CWG found in this study corresponds with the investigation by Dixon and Gibbons (2014) regarding the 'jubilant portrayal' of London 2012 in the media.

### **7.2.1.3 Personal Experience**

Participants' own experiences were also found to be influential upon attitudes to the Games, although these tended to cast a somewhat darker shadow. When prompted to imagine the CWG at Wave 1, the most popular frames of reference were drawn from past memories of Old Firm games being played between the Glasgow-based rival football teams of Celtic and Rangers. This was especially pertinent to the East End because the former's home ground in Parkhead is a stone's throw from the Velodrome: *'[The CWG is] just gonnae be like Celtic up on. Constantly like for a week'* (Kieran, Wave 1). Champions' League matches were also mentioned because of their attraction to overseas sports fans. However, the association between these fixtures and social incivilities, including fighting, vandalism, and drunkenness, was the source of some trepidation for young people with regard to the

forthcoming CWG. The following statement from Morag was typical: *'I think just because it's from Glasgow, they're always fighting over football and that, so that's what I'm worried about, to see that. 'Cause you don't know what could occur' (Wave 1)*. Others had broader concerns which owed their origins to prevailing norms in the East End. Uppermost was the perceived risk of territorially-minded youths using violence to repel 'outsiders' from their personal spatial fiefdoms: *'Because they just don't like them being there, because they'll feel that they're invading their space' (Ben, Wave 1)*. When asked to explain a similarly pessimistic prediction, Danny affirmed the potency of local norms in his succinct response: *'Well, It's Glasgow' (Wave 1)*.

### 7.2.2 Cognitive Responses

Drawing on Social Exchange Theory, Waitt (2003) argues that an event is evaluated as either positive or negative in terms of the expected benefits or costs deriving from it. Accordingly, people will support an event if they perceive some social, economic or other kind of benefit from the exchange. This benefit might be personal to them, but it might also be altruistic in the sense that benefits might accrue to others whom they would like to see benefit. The point is that, if this condition is not met, then people might be regarded as beyond the reach of programmes or initiatives attempting to use a sports event to motivate behaviour change or shift cultural norms.

In this study, participants were asked to identify the most likely benefits from hosting the CWG. The objective was not to add to the plethora of legacy typologies which exist already in the literature (see Chapter 2), but rather to determine which of the multiple benefits cited by participants were most salient. For this task, the typology proposed by Chappelet (2012) was a useful analytic framework, with its three dimensions of: tangible and intangible; sporting and non-sporting; and territorial and personal.

The dominance of coded references to intangible benefits in young people's accounts runs counter to the grain of the legacy literature which tends to privilege tangible legacy impacts above intangibles (Cashman, 2006). Notably, this finding was applicable across all sub-groups in the sample, including those defined by gender, place of birth, sports participation, and club membership. Further analysis indicated that non-sporting and territorial intangible benefits were uppermost, particularly those relating to a reputational turnaround for the East End. This finding suggests that the significance of the CWG hosting is located within its extrinsic value, in terms of community self-worth, rather than the intrinsic value of staging

a sporting event *per se*. The causal pathways for achieving this impact were multiple and explicated by young people themselves. Several talked about recent place transformation: *'The East End's getting improved right now. It's getting built new stuff, new houses, new...places, so overall, it's going to be a better place'* (Manny, Wave 1); some speculated that the CWG might encourage outsiders to come into the East End: *'maybe if they come and actually see it, they might think...it might make them change their mind about it, like change their opinions'* (Ben, Wave 1); while others made much of the fact that the East End had been entrusted with the hosting, in itself denoting a symbolic milestone for the area: *'Yeah, I think it will change what people think of the area. (...) They'll think of it as more of a friendly place because it's been trusted with all of this, with the CWG and all that. So I think people's views will change'* (Calum, Wave 1). Moreover, the elite sportsperson in the sample understood that the CWG would henceforth situate Glasgow within an exclusive brotherhood of UK host cities: *'It's more London and Manchester that they [event organisers] think of, 'cause they're the sort of cities where, if there's an event, that's where it is. So I think it's good that we're hosting something for once'* (Gerry, Wave 1). These area benefits were tantamount to a defining moment for Glasgow and for the East End.

An analysis of Wave 2 accounts indicated that the importance attached to a territorial impact remained constant over time. Indeed, there was a general perception amongst young people that, post-Games, their hopes for an improved external image of Glasgow/East End had progressed closer towards realisation:

*'Opinions, it has changed, because people are saying Glasgow is more friendly, actually a nicer place. That's the change'* (Todd, Wave 2).

*'I think the rest of the world...cause the East End of Glasgow kinda had a bad name of being quite rough and that, but I think to the rest of the world it looks a bit better now'* (Lisa, Wave 2).

*'I thought it was great. I think it's given Glasgow a good like kind of experience and also like it's not as bad as what everyone thinks it was..aw, Glasgow's pure bad..but it's something to be proud of, and I think everyone has enjoyed it'* (Helen, Wave 2).

Nonetheless, the following excerpt introduces an important caveat: *'Like obviously in Glasgow, it's probably not changed, because people know what it's like, but people outside that are looking in to Glasgow will be able to see that it isn't as bad as people may think'* (Ben, Wave 2). His argument is that, although the external reputation of Glasgow might have

improved as a result of the hosting, the relative social positioning of the East End within Glasgow would most likely remain unaltered.

In an attempt to delve further into the meaning and significance of the CWG, there was lengthy discussion about perceived beneficiaries. The question asked ('who do you think will gain most/least from the CWG coming to Glasgow?') was deliberately framed within the simplistic binary of likely 'winners' and 'losers' (Crow and Rees, 1999), with each given equal weighting, so that any unintended consequences of hosting might be revealed. Across the entire Wave 1 data set, no losers were suggested by respondents, although several groups were mentioned, for whom it was perceived that the Games might hold less interest. These included people disinterested in sport, older people, or host residents not living in close proximity to the CWG venues. Those perceived to derive most direct benefit comprised business interests (local retailers, restaurateurs, and hoteliers), reflecting the priority afforded to the consumption of goods and services within a market-based economy. There was also frequent mention of the economic benefits accruing to the SG and GCC. This did not mean to say that participants did not foresee indirect benefits for local residents. On the contrary, some young people acknowledged the potential for generating local employment in the services sector. Similarly, a few harboured a degree of optimism about the prospect of a 'trickle down' effect from public sector revenue streams, as illustrated in the following excerpts:

*'It's [CWG] bringing like more tourists to the city, so we're getting more money to fix things and stuff' (Lisa, Wave 1).*

*'It [CWG] might benefit everybody else because if the Government get some more money, then they might fix up Glasgow more. We'll see (laughs)' (Ben, Wave 1).*

*'They'll [GCC] put it [money] back to Glasgow and put it back to building new stuff. It's always that' (Manny, Wave 1).*

While the above responses were elicited in an abstract discussion about 'macro' benefits, subsequent questioning channelled the discussion towards benefits, which they anticipated directly accruing to them, collectively or individually. School teachers were most positive about the benefits to young people, claiming that the hosting would serve as a 'huge lift' for their pupils, marking the end of their disparagement by outsiders: *'And you would hope that the children from the East End would maybe benefit from it, because they've been run down for years' (Depute Head, School A)*. Young people themselves were less effusive however, and their opinions divided. On the one hand, sports enthusiasts were looking forward to

seeing their sporting heroes perform at close range, with one girl acknowledging that young people were at a life-stage when they were unencumbered by home and work responsibilities and were therefore at liberty to grasp many of the new CWG-related opportunities. On the other hand, the majority of young people envisioned multiple barriers, which would prevent them from taking up these opportunities. Top of the list for many was a disinterest in sport, but mentions were also made of time pressure, because of the need to study for their first ever external examinations; and ineligibility for volunteering, because of the minimum age criterion of 16 years. Several expressed their disappointment that the event organisers had not directly targeted them as a group, a perception still largely evident in Wave 2: *'I think when they were organising stuff, they should have got teenagers more involved. (..) At least it would have been from their point of view, because they are still growing, and their mind set is different from someone who is older, and they can bring new ideas'* (Ellie, Wave 2). This finding affirms the concern raised by some critics that young people tend to be marginal players within legacy planning (Raco, 2004).

Nonetheless, several young people testified to direct tangible benefits for them and their families. In terms of housing, one girl talked about her recent move to a brand new house in the core hosting zone; one boy said that his parents hoped to reap a financial dividend from home ownership in the host neighbourhood (Kavetsos (2012) estimated that properties in the London 2012 host boroughs benefitted from a sales premium of between 2.1 and 3.3 per cent); and, finally, another girl said that her maternal grandmother, who suffered from dementia, would be accommodated in a residential home shortly to be built in the Athletes' Village. Some also talked about family members securing temporary employment or volunteering opportunities. Only a few referred to access to new and enhanced sporting facilities. Finally, there were early indications of the importance attached to securing a personal narrative from the CWG: *'It's just good to say that you took part in it'* (Emma, Wave 1).

### 7.2.3 Affective Responses

An analysis of emotional responses was found to be useful insofar as it helped gauge the ability of the Games to arouse excitement, considered to be an important factor in determining whether or not mechanisms might be triggered. Responses were coded according to whether references were interpreted by the researcher to be negative, positive, or neutral towards the hosting of the CWG in the East End. This issue warranted analysis since Wave 1 field notes recorded the researcher's general observation that young people

did not exhibit any '*connection*' with the forthcoming CWG, a situation which contradicted her expectation that young people would be '*steeped*' in CWG-related matters at that time.

Emotional responses were found to be complex and nuanced, with evidence of multiple, conflicted and ambivalent feelings, subject to fluctuation over time. This is in keeping with the longitudinal qualitative study conducted by Kohe (2015), which found that young people's anticipations and recollections of London 2012 were untidy, inconsistent and non-linear.

### **7.2.3.1 Before the Games**

At Wave 1, the whole gamut of emotions was on display, ranging from positive feelings such as surprise and excitement; to negative feelings of frustration, disappointment, and scepticism. At first glance, young people's feelings appeared to be precariously balanced between negative and positive, in stark contrast to key informants' responses, which were universally supportive of the CWG. However, closer analysis indicated that responses were influenced by the method of data collection. Accordingly, while young people were positive about the CWG in 1:1 interviews by a ratio of almost 2:1, they were more likely to articulate negative feelings within the focus group format. There are a number of plausible explanations for this discrepancy. Young people might have uttered views which they considered more socially acceptable within a 1:1 scenario. The corollary is that the dynamic interaction of a focus group might have provided a more suitable platform for participants to defend their views and challenge those of others. The most compelling explanation is that the stimulus material used in the focus groups contained a plethora of public-facing statements about legacy which tended to arouse strong emotions and polarise responses.

In the main, positive feelings were generated from the anticipation of a high-profile event happening in the vicinity. The importance of spatial proximity trumped that of sports participation, as the following quotations from non-participants illustrate:

*'I don't really watch like the CWG but obviously I will this year because it's in my city' (Ben, Wave 1).*

*'I think I'll watch it because it's in Glasgow' (Avril, Wave 1).*

*'Usually, you wouldn't pay attention to stuff like that, but now because it's in your area, you're likely to see what it's like' (Manny, Wave 1).*



However, these excerpts mask the 'micro-localisation' of their views, with focus group discussions testifying to considerably less interest in the CWG, had it been hosted elsewhere in another part of the city: *'So even though we're not affected the now, it [hosting the CWG elsewhere in Glasgow] would be even worse' (Emma, Wave 1).*

With regard to negative feelings, some were concerned about the misplaced priorities of city leaders and event organisers: *'I think they should have helped the people that stayed in the East End, rather than just building a Velodrome, and that's it' (Kieran, Wave 1)*, with one boy going so far as to call the hosting enterprise a 'con' and a 'vanity project' (Said, Wave 1). Others were critical of the prevailing rhetorical discourse around legacy: *'I think it's kinda over-rated, I think people are making a bigger deal of it than it needs to be' (Lisa, Wave 1)*; while others doubted that a legacy would be achieved at all: *'There's just going to be a crowd and then...it'll just go away, like there's not going to be any difference' (Danny, Wave 1)*. Negative feelings also arose from a perception that young people had not been consulted with, or been targeted by promotional activity. The latter was especially galling for them since they lived within the core hosting zone: *'Like you'd think people would say to us because of the things that are around us, the venues' (Emma, Wave 1).*

Further exploration attempted to detect patterns in the data which might explain why some groups were more likely than others to express particular feelings. Gendered patterning was apparent. Whereas positive and negative feelings were reported by boys in equal measure, girls were more likely to talk about the CWG in positive terms, specifically in terms of the excitement of a big event, of a welcome break in routine, of the unknown, and of the prospect of simply 'being there' at a defining moment in the city's history. In terms of place of birth, those born in the East End were more likely to articulate a negative viewpoint (*'I don't see anything changing except there's a big Velodrome. Just sitting there' (Kieran, Wave 1)*), a stance which stood in marked contrast to those not born in the East End (*'I think it's something great, a great opportunity for Glasgow to stand out from the rest of the world...(..) I think it's a great thing' (Colin, Wave 1)*). Club affiliation, sporting or otherwise, was also found to be influential. Further explanations were found in terms of sport participation, with competitive or elite sports players being the most positively disposed towards the CWG. These findings correspond with the London 2012 survey data which concluded that regular sports participation and ethnicity were the strongest influencing factors for supporting the Games (TNS BMRB, 2012).

There was evidence of a clustering of attributes. Therefore, young people who were most likely to hold positive opinions towards the CWG were found to have any of the following characteristics: sports participant; not born in the East End; and a member of a social club. Considering these in their entirety indicates something more fundamental at work than mere demographics or lifestyle characteristics. It is plausible that a particular outlook on life might account for attitudinal differences insofar as young people with *pre*-existing broad horizons might have been better positioned to recognise new CWG-related opportunities.

On an individual level, there was evidence of different perceptual readings of the same social phenomenon. The theme of disruption illustrates this point well, with its lived experience viewed either positively or negatively, depending on an individual's place of residence; the importance of structured routine to their daily lives; or likely personal dividend. To illustrate this variability, the examples of three different people are provided. All three lived in the heart of the core hosting zone and thus were particularly impacted upon by construction work for a prolonged period of time. Different contextual factors gave rise to starkly contrasting attitudinal responses to disruption. Luke, a competitive sportsperson and frequent user of local sporting facilities, was frustrated by his temporary exclusion from these same facilities because of the CWG event. By contrast, Louise had a more positive response towards the disruption because she and her family had moved to a brand new house in the vicinity of the Athletes' Village, and her mother and older sister had secured temporary employment and an internship respectively with the Glasgow 2014 OC. Kieran, a non-sport participant, was the most negatively disposed towards the CWG, a stance not entirely unexpected, given that he and his family had to endure noise and dust from the ongoing construction work with no prospect of any improvement in their circumstances.

#### **7.2.3.2 After the Games**

Analysis of Wave 2 coded references indicated an increased incidence of negative comments towards the CWG. As with Wave 1, discussion within focus groups at Wave 2 elicited more negative than positive commentary by a ratio of 2:1. However, in 1:1 interviews, feelings towards the CWG were poised precariously between positive and negative at Wave 2, compared to a positive weighting at Wave 1. A similar patterning of responses was evident at Wave 2, with those born in the East End more likely to hold a negative viewpoint, while elite or competitive sportspeople were the most positively disposed towards the CWG. The gendered pattern apparent in Wave 1 was no longer apparent.

At face value, this change of heart may seem disconcerting. Nevertheless, it was interpreted by the researcher as the inevitable consequence of gathering retrospective accounts of the CWG. While, at Wave 1, participants had discussed the forthcoming event somewhat tentatively, and in abstract terms; by Wave 2, they each had a personal story to tell about their own lived experience of the event. In short, there was more to talk about post-CWG, and young people felt more qualified to voice an opinion. A fairer representation of the prevailing mood post-Games was that of qualified approval, as typified by the following summations:

*'I'd say positive...I'd say it's definitely more a positive than a negative'*  
(Gerry, Wave 2).

*'For me, it was never really something that was negative. I always had that sort of positive, you know. (..) And I still think that still stands, now it's done and we've seen what it was'* (Leona, Wave 2).

The level of support for the CWG amongst young people mirrored that of adult householders in the East End survey, which the researchers claim were higher than those recorded among residents before London 2012 (Cleland et al., 2015).

Negative comments in the post-Games period related to a miscellany of operational items which young people had themselves directly witnessed, including the speedy removal of CWG memorabilia; empty seats at events; excessive security; expensive tickets and catering; and, in a deviant case, a perception that the CWG was *'too English'* (Ben, Wave 2). Several criticisms lingered on from Wave 1, including the dominance of sport; inadequate engagement with young people; and low expectations about social change. However, criticism relating to the commercial aspects of hosting sporting events represented a new entry in the ledger book: *'I didn't think there was that much that actually related to the CWG. I thought it was more like money-making than anything'* (Gerry, Wave 2).

With regard to positive comments, the dominant view was that the staging of the Games event had been exemplary. This feeling was often accompanied with a sense of relief that earlier fears about violence had not materialised:

*'There was no drama. Like people would usually think that Glaswegians and Glasgow in the East End are all fighting and stuff, and there was no drama, like there was no fighting'* (Morag, Wave 2).

*'Like it showed that especially the East End of Glasgow isn't that bad, because obviously people didn't get hurt, or there wasn't massive fights or anything' (Ben, Wave 2).*

Also worthy of particular mention was the unexpected 'cheery' and 'positive' atmosphere that pervaded the city during the eleven days of celebration (see 7.4.1).

One particular case represented an interesting outlier. Describing his attitudinal shift as a 'conversion', Said conceded that he no longer supported his earlier denouncement of the CWG hosting as a 'vanity project' and a 'con'. The following excerpt describes his epiphany:

*'I think it [the CWG] was really worthwhile. I thought it was ehm ...my opinion's not changed in the sense that probably they could have spent the money better, but I think it was a very positive experience. And I think ...I doubted there would be a legacy...but I think there is something of a legacy, I think. Obviously, the houses are going to people, they're going to be affordable houses, stuff like that, the facilities, the Emirates Arena, so I think there is a legacy. And I didn't think there would be one really, I was sceptical about that' (Said, Wave 2).*

Although this statement acknowledges tangible legacy impacts, it does not discount the risk of opportunity cost, on the basis that investment in the CWG might not have been the best use of limited public resources.

## 7.2.4 Planned Engagement

The objective at Wave 1 was to determine young people's intentions for future engagement with the sporting and cultural components of the CWG. Given that the latter had not been announced at that time, it was not surprising to find the sporting aspect uppermost in their minds. In fact, there was only one mention of cultural events (street theatre), and this was from a respondent who had previous knowledge and direct experience of events such as the Sydney 2000 OG and the Edinburgh Fringe Festival. While several pupils mentioned their enjoyment of watching the London 2012 Opening and Closing Ceremonies, few understood that there would be equivalent events planned for Glasgow 2014, with one boy even doubting that the CWG would be broadcast on television.

At Wave 1, there was scant evidence of planned involvement with the CWG. Given the saliency of sport, it was not surprising to observe a gradient of interest in accord with levels of sport participation. Competitive or elite performers were most likely to have concrete plans at this stage and to articulate their strong desire to witness the live spectacle of sport,

as evidenced by this enthused response from Ellie: *'Oh my god, it'll be great! It's just like..I just want to be involved. I just want to be part of it. I just want to go and watch everything. I'm just going to enjoy myself, and I'm just going to do something'* (Wave 1). While only one individual in this group had a ticket at that time, all expressed a keen interest in acquiring some, either through purchasing them or sourcing them via their family, their sports club or their volunteering roles. They were also aware of non-ticketed events within the sports programme and were keen to attend: *'I know there's a couple of them that are free to go to. There's road race cycling, so I'd quite like to go to that'* (Gerry, Wave 1). There was considerable frustration amongst people in this group that the age criterion of 16 years at time of registration excluded them from becoming a Glasgow 2014 volunteer.

By contrast, those who were classified as occasional or recreational sport participants were less motivated to attend a live sporting event (none of them had tried for tickets, bar one who had tried and failed) because they said that they were not sporty: *'If I'm honest, I don't think that I'd feel I'd do anything. It's more seen around sporty people, I'm not really a sporting person. I'll play the odd game of football but that's really it'* (Danny, Wave 1). They were more likely to talk about their intention to watch the CWG on TV, or attend a free un-ticketed event in order to experience something significant going on in their local area: *'Like, I guess if I go to watch some of the things, I'll be part of it, but not like give them the money and paying for tickets to see things'* (Lisa, Wave 1). Some young people in this group drew their information about free sporting events from an athlete who had visited their school.

Finally, those who were classified as non-participants had not given the matter much thought hitherto. This did not mean that they rejected the notion of being part of the CWG altogether - on the contrary, when asked what they might do, the vast majority were positive about doing something, albeit they were unable to specify what this might be. Some admitted to feelings of lethargy: *'Aye, I'd like to go but I wouldn't really try and break my back just to get a ticket when I could watch it from my house'* (Ben, Wave 1); *'Like they were advertising...cause there's been lots of advertisements about it...but I haven't really got around to buying things'* (Chris, Wave 1). One respondent in this group was aware of the ballot process through a family member employed by the OC and had been successful in getting a ticket; while another expressed annoyance that free tickets, which had been promised to local residents at a GCC meeting as compensation for the turbulence during construction work, had not materialised. Only one person rejected the notion that she would engage with the CWG, this on the basis that she had no interest at all in sport.

In summing up this first section, the legacy benefit which was uppermost in the minds of young people was improved image and reputation for Glasgow and the East End. Expectations for direct personal benefits were comparatively muted. That said, opinions towards the hosting of the CWG were generally positive, which satisfied a prerequisite for future engagement. Nevertheless, and somewhat paradoxically, positive feelings at this time did not necessarily translate into forward planning to engage with the various cultural and sporting activities leading up to the CWG, including the event itself. In this respect, the study data indicated that those most likely to indicate future engagement intentions were existing sports participants. Hopes for a reputational shift for Glasgow and the East End were dominant and remained unchanged over time. Despite an increased incidence of negative comments in the aftermath of the Games, mostly about the execution of the Games, the stance towards the hosting of the event was still largely favourable.

## **7.3 Actual Engagement with the CWG**

### **7.3.1 Glasgow 2014 Legacy Programmes**

The literature suggests that the period before the event represents the most critical time for building legacy momentum. In other words, it is not so much the event itself, but rather the anticipation of the event which provides the main stimulus for legacy effects (Smith, 2009). At the same time, scholars have argued that organisers should endeavour to position sporting mega events as a phenomenon which transcends sport. In their review of the legacy literature, Weed et al. (2009) recommended the notion of creating a festival or 'celebration' effect, which would support the perception that a significant event was taking place, thereby engendering a desire to be part of it. In order to achieve this effect, commentators have highlighted the need for ancillary cultural and educational packages to create leveraging opportunities for legacy (McCartney, 2010, Misener et al., 2015, Smith and Fox, 2007).

In Chapter 4, it was noted that the majority of legacy projects targeting young people were planned for delivery within the school setting under the banner of *Game on Scotland (GoS)*. Indeed, the study data validated schools as the most significant medium for legacy programmes insofar as they were found to determine young people's exposure to the CWG and shape their attitudes towards it. The mediating role of schools was explicitly acknowledged by key informants. For example, a key informant explained her rationale for running a Schools' Baton event as a forerunner to the arrival of the Queen's Baton in Glasgow:

*'I think there's a good chance that, if we hadn't done anything in school, it [the baton] could have gone, wherever it'll go, I don't know, along the Gallowgate...the pupils might've gone 'what's that?' and not... (...) And I think when the Games come now, that type of thing will be more engaged on. They'll be more excited to go and see it and support what's going in their own area. Whereas it would be a shame if it was all happening in their area and they didn't really know what was going on or why' (2014 Lead, School A).*

This view was echoed by another key informant in the same school who explained that the aim of the school programme was to convey the broader significance of the CWG hosting, which might not otherwise be readily apparent to the pupils: *'I suppose to raise the awareness of what it [the CWG] is. I mean, the children (..) see these buildings going up, it doesn't really mean anything to them, unless they kind of become involved in it' (Depute Head, School A).*

	SCHOOL A	SCHOOL B
<b>Approach</b>	Strategic; proactive.	Tactical; reactive.
<b>Linking</b>	Creation of 'bridging' networks involving links with other Primary, Secondary and Special schools within the wider Learning Community and twinning with another Secondary School in a different city, as well as local businesses.	Creation of 'bonding' network i.e. strengthening existing links between the Primary and Secondary Schools on the same campus.
<b>Reach</b>	Deliberate strategy to de-emphasise sport within an all-school approach.	PE faculty taking lead by default.
<b>Communication Focus</b>	Propagation.	Dissemination.

**Table 7.1 Comparison of School Engagement with Glasgow 2014**

The two schools in this study adopted contrasting approaches to the CWG (Table 7.1). In School A, the GoS programme was both strategic and proactive. The 'active' ingredient was the PE Teacher who had formerly participated in the Youth Commonwealth Games. On her own initiative, she had attended external stakeholder meetings and propagated information to staff during in-service days. In terms of making it happen, the teacher concerned had established a planning committee comprising all Learning Community<sup>21</sup> Head Teachers and

<sup>21</sup> There are 25 Learning Communities (LC) in Glasgow split across three areas of the city. Each LC comprises the following: at least one Secondary School; associated Primary Schools; local Nurseries; and local Additional Support for Learning (ASL) schools. Their stated aim is 'raising attainment and achievement for all children and young people', based on inclusion, transition,

an internal governance structure to ensure faculty representation across the school. A decision was taken from the outset to broaden interest in the CWG beyond sport: *'We tried to give it a huge variety, and also by not just focusing on sport, hopefully we've engaged the pupils that are excellent in music, excellent at art, excellent at technical, to try and not isolate anyone'* (2014 Lead, School A). Outputs were extensive, including the creation of a 'bridging' network across the entire North East LC; a twinning initiative with an Edinburgh school; partnerships with local businesses; ad hoc events (e.g. participation in the Glasgow Schools' Baton Relay); taster experiences (e.g. opportunities for some pupils to undertake accredited track cycling at the Velodrome); curricular projects (most relevant to this study being the Aspire>Inspire project from the Character Scotland stable<sup>22</sup>); and extracurricular projects (e.g. BBC Welcome Film; athlete visits). The programme in School A culminated in the staging of a Commonwealth Celebration Evening (*'just to bring it all together'*) to showcase project work from across the wider LC and to launch a UNICEF charity single. Interestingly, this show entailed a fixed deadline which had the same galvanising and coalescing effect as that for Glasgow 2014. In recognition of its efforts, School A became one of the 528 Scottish schools to receive a GoS Award (Education Scotland, 2015).

By contrast, the approach taken by School B was tactical and reactive, with the PE faculty leading by default on all CWG-related matters within the school. A narrower curricular focus meant that the 2014 Lead in School B, although able to share details about her own legacy plans, was less confident about talking about activities across the school:

*'I do hear about things. And there's lots of displays and things like that that are going on. So I do know that. Sort of in geography, they would be working on countries, so I think it is being picked up across the school. But, as such, I haven't done an audit or anything like that to find out where it is being covered in the school, which might be quite interesting to do'* (2014 Lead, School B).

Individual capacity was a major constraint: *'I just think, for me personally, it's time..I would like to be doing a lot more, but I don't have the time to do it, so...maybe that's not good for*

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curricular development and working in partnership with other agencies to improve outcomes for families.

<sup>22</sup> Character Scotland, an educational charity formed in 2009, aims to equip young people with the 'skills, attributes and attitudes that empower them to develop as global citizens'. <https://www.character-scotland.org.uk>. Using a standard poster template, the Inspire>Aspire project invites young people to reflect on their personal values and qualities, to identify someone inspirational in their lives, and to develop a personal plan of action inspired by these same values.



*the CWG, if they've got a lot of PE teachers sitting in the same spot, saying that'. Furthermore, whereas School A's involvement concerned the propagation of Glasgow 2014-related messages, School B's was more akin to the dissemination of information:*

*'So, with the CWG, I suppose I'm helping to promote. And I'm basically taking all the information that we're getting from the LA and the CWG, sportscotland...they send it to me...and then I'm passing that out to the pupils via noticeboards, events that we run' (Glasgow 2014 Lead, School B).*

At the same time, the teacher concerned was also acutely aware of the limitations of her dissemination efforts: *'I can give out the information, but not a lot of them will take it up' (Wave 1)*. Outputs were similar to those of School A, but were narrower in range. They included ad hoc events (sports days hosted at the Velodrome; visits to elite sporting events; participation in the Glasgow Schools' Baton Relay); curricular projects (under Health & Wellbeing); and athlete visits (presentations; the Champions in Schools initiative). In contrast to School A's outward-looking stance, School B's priority was the strengthening of existing relationships between the Primary and Secondary schools which were accommodated on the same campus.

While the aforementioned determines the 'supply' side of the equation, it says nothing about pupil 'demand' or motivation to take up CWG-related opportunities. In this respect, the most striking empirical observation at Wave 1 was the discrepancy between key informant and pupil accounts. For example, while both 2014 Leads talked positively about pupils' participation in the Glasgow Schools' Baton Relay, a pupil in one school highlighted the absence of personal volition with regard to 'participating': *'I feel that if we'd had the choice to go watch it, people might have been more interested, but we never really had any choice. We just got told to sit' (Lisa, School B)*. Six months before the event, there was scant awareness, prompted or unprompted, amongst young people of recent or current projects that in their view might have been connected to the CWG. That said, most anticipated the emergence of projects in the coming months, although they assumed that these would most likely emanate from the PE department. The association with PE explains the following reaction from a pupil on seeing images of science laboratories in the Education Scotland video, part of the stimulus material for Wave 1 focus groups: *'I don't know why the education part's been put into it. Cause it's just sports (...). There's parts of science in there, chemistry and that (everyone laughs). We don't do Commonwealth in Chemistry' (Louise, Wave 1)*. This quotation highlights contrasting interpretations between staff and pupils about the cross-curricular relevance of a sporting event.

Researcher field notes suggested two possible explanations for this divergence. The first was related to an implementation lag. At the time of Wave 1 fieldwork, school staff were largely in planning mode, with school projects just starting to emerge. A second reason for the 'disconnect' was the fact that the age group under study (S4) had external constraints placed on them, limiting their capacity to participate in the Glasgow 2014-related programmes in their respective schools. In both interviews and focus groups, S4 pupils talked about time pressure and the stress of preparing for their first ever national examinations: *'Exams, there's just too much to do' (Louise, Wave 1)*. The requirement to study was offered to the researcher as the reason for their perceived low level of information about the CWG: *'I've not really heard too much in school apart from getting the opportunity to do this [interview], but I think they [the teachers] 're just trying to get us focused on exams at the moment, and they've not really got the opportunity to talk to us anymore' (Chrissie, Wave 1)*. By the same token, there was also a perception that younger year groups might have had greater exposure to legacy projects: *'I think they'll do more towards the First, Second and Third [Years], 'cause we've got prelims and exams, and we're focussing on them' (Chris, Wave 1)*. The focus on younger pupil cohorts was also acknowledged by a key informant: *'I think a lot of the departments in terms of Commonwealth projects will have had to focus them with their S1 to S3, 'cause in Fourth Year, there's just not the time, they're trying to get them through their exams' (2014 Lead, School A)*. Without doubt, S4 Teachers were wary of distractions, as evidenced by the difficulties the researcher experienced in scheduling Wave 1 fieldwork and reported teachers' concern about pupils being taken out of class to participate in certain initiatives: *'Teachers weren't that happy about us having to miss English because of the Baton [event]' (Leona, Wave 1)*.

Pupils involved in school-based legacy initiatives demonstrated high levels of personal motivation and excellence in particular curricular areas, such as sport or the expressive arts. These same individuals appeared to be routinely selected by school personnel to perform ambassadorial roles when representing the school on public-facing occasions, with the corollary that other young people felt excluded from opportunities. One boy perceived that involvement in CWG-related school projects was contained to an exclusive group: *'People were specifically picked. It wasn't a choice. People, it's just they were picked' (Danny, Wave 2)*. Elsewhere, he refers to them as *'the obvious people'*. However, even for this select group, agency was sometimes an issue, with one girl admitting that she had been 'volunteered' by a teacher (*'I just got signed up for that. I had no choice' (Morag, Wave 1)*), with the consequence that she felt unsure about the significance of her involvement: *'I did something for the CWG, but I don't know what it was'*. As these statements were intended for her peers

within a focus group, care must be taken not to overstate any claims. Yet the fact remains that the data highlight an issue with exclusivity in relation to involvement in the school legacy programme.

Participation in CWG-related school projects brought personal dividends, not least of all, increased self-confidence and self-worth: *'I felt quite special because it was out of a lot of the whole school and that'* (Morag, Wave 2), an outcome which supports the views of young people who participated in similar initiatives as part of London 2012 (Legacy Trust UK, 2013). More broadly, there was a positive impact on social and spatial horizons. Thus, one pupil talked about the joy of working collaboratively with others on the East 40 Commonwealth charity single, which involved liaising with different teachers and younger pupils: *'It was all about working together and being part of something'* (Ellie, Wave 2). In another example, one boy, a Young Ambassador<sup>23</sup>, had the opportunity to attend seminars along with other ambassadors from other schools in the region. Immediately upon his return, he was granted the opportunity to apply his new leadership skills in terms of implementing his so-called 'Top 3' ideas (introducing sports buddies; organising more sports clubs for girls; organising inter-house competitions). Another pupil talked about the consciousness-raising impact of her involvement in a BBC film, intended to welcome visitors to the East End, which granted her the unique opportunity of seeing familiar places in her neighbourhood through different eyes: *'Because, when you step back, you see a bigger picture and stuff'* (Morag, Wave 2). These three examples emanated from School A, whose Glasgow 2014 programme was more broadly-based across the curriculum. As far as School B was concerned, only one pupil in the sample participated in the school legacy programme. However, his involvement was primarily an honorary one, insofar as it reflected his existing status as a Young Ambassador and elite athlete: *'I was like the school's representative'* (Gerry, Wave 2). In short, his contribution was for the benefit of others, for whom he might serve as a positive role model.

### 7.3.2 The CWG event

Due to its proximity, young people in the East End found it impossible to ignore the CWG event and were therefore obliged, consciously or unconsciously, to assume a particular

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<sup>23</sup> See Table 4.1. The Young Ambassadors programme from Youth Sport Trust seeks to develop young leaders and volunteers by giving them the responsibility of being an ambassador for PE and school sport. <http://www.youthsporttrust.org/how-we-can-help/programmes/young-ambassadors.aspx> (accessed 23 June 2015). The programme was already in place before the CWG but the number of YAs was increased, and their role enhanced, as a result of the CWG.

stance towards it. In this study, five different levels of participation were identifiable, in accordance with dimensions or criteria considered most pertinent to this study. These can be considered along three dimensions: 'active' versus 'passive' behaviour; strengthening existing social connections ('bonding') versus accessing new social connections ('bridging'); and the maintenance or suspension of normal routine. Inspired by Arnstein (1969), Figure 7.1 summarises the findings diagrammatically in a Glasgow 2014 Ladder of Participation. Each level is described below: regarding the nature of the participation; patterns of association with sub-groups; and the impact on social and spatial horizons. Two general points are worthy of note here. First, the ladder records the highest attainment in participation at any single point during the Games and therefore does not preclude engagement at lower levels at other times. Second, the notion of a ladder is intended to convey differentiated impacts with those at the top understood to have gained most as a direct consequence of their involvement, with attenuation of impact the lower down the individual's position on the ladder.

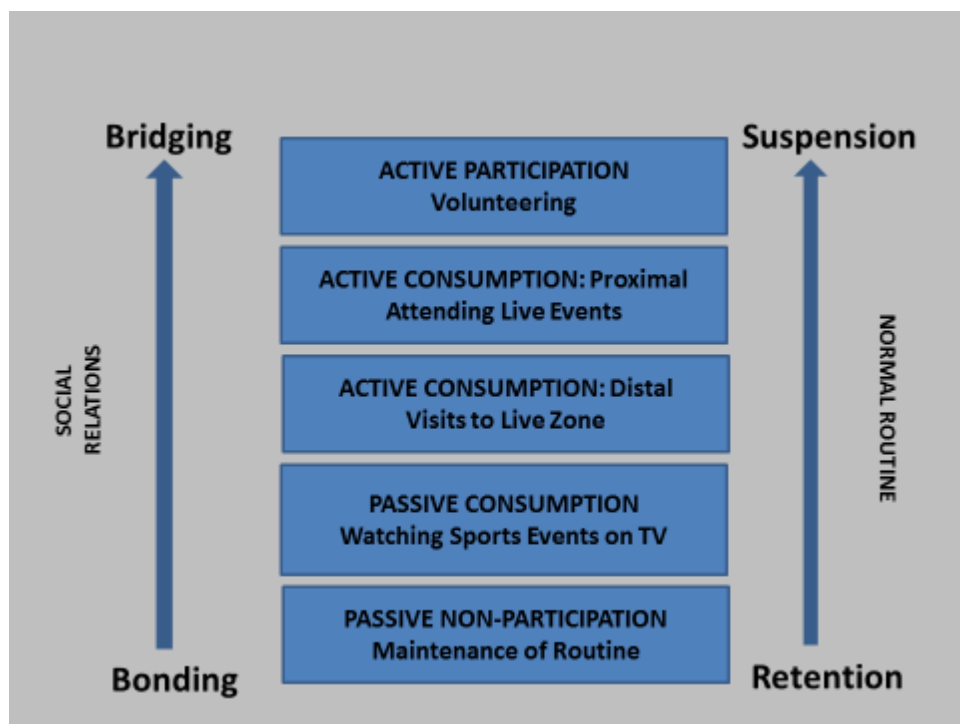


Figure 7.1 Glasgow Ladder of Participation

### 7.3.2.1 *Active Participation*

This classification conveys the highest level of participation and hands-on involvement in the CWG event. In a sense, the few young people in this group might be characterised as 'actors' with specific roles assigned to them as Games-time volunteers working at the heart

of the 2014 spectacle. Their personal narratives were told with much animation and contained vivid and detailed descriptions of their experiences. The following excerpts convey their excitement:

*'One of the best experiences that I have ever had' (Calum Wave 2).*

*'It was crazy because I couldn't believe that I was actually seeing some athletes and actually getting to see them in person. I was like... OMG!' (Ellie, Wave 2).*

Participation at this level meant that they felt very much at the heart of what was happening: *'So I was in the midst of it, in the middle of it. I would always be running about places trying to get to different stadiums and stuff, events' (Calum, Wave 2).*

In terms of personal attributes, the few individuals in this group were competitive sports participants. They both attended School A, where they had made a significant contribution to the CWG-themed sporting and cultural programme of activities (see 7.3.1). However, and somewhat perversely, their involvement in the GoS programme did not in itself lead directly to their volunteering roles during the event. Rather, it was a combination of personal motivation and personal contacts, with a measure of happenstance. Thus, Ellie used her existing social contacts to secure a desired position as a volunteer 'runner' within the Athletes' Village (*'It was my friend..she got in to help out with sorting stuff, like making everything in order for the athletes and stuff like that. When she got in, she helped me as well because I asked her if I could come along'*). With the same level of fortuitousness, Calum bumped into a friend which triggered a series of fortunate events, culminating in a performing role for him within the Closing Ceremony: *'I was standing down the street and one of my friends, who is actually a part of it, came up to me and says 'do you want to be on TV?' I said 'aye', so that's how I got in (..) It was just as random as that!'* (Calum, Wave 2).

Active participation brought considerable social and spatial gains. According to Ellie, her involvement meant that she had experienced new sports, travelled to new places, and made new friends: *'I tried a lot of things, like a lot of sports that I thought that I would never do, and I got to make new friends from different countries, speak different languages. I think it was all about cultural as well. It's just getting involved in everything'* (Wave 2). In a similar vein, Calum's intensive six-week training for the Closing Ceremony choreography meant that he used public transport for the first time to travel across the city: *'I learnt how to work a subway. Train system and bus system. I never knew how to do that before, weirdly enough, I just wasn't a public transport kind of person. I'd walk or I'd get my dad or mum to drive*

*me*'; and made new friendships: *'I've gained friends. Gained many new contacts as well'* (Wave 2). Cognisant of its value in a competitive world, Calum also claimed that his CWG involvement would be personally advantageous in his future application for the much sought-after Higher Education course that he was interested in.

### **7.3.2.2 Active Consumption: Proximal**

Young people in this group talked about their experiences of attending live sporting events, with one girl making a clear distinction between this and simply watching the same event on TV: *'Like, it's nice to see on TV, but if you're not there, then it doesn't affect you, sort of thing'* (Louise, Wave 2). Resuming the theatrical analogy, these individuals might be likened to members of the audience, rather than the cast of actors mentioned above. This characterisation largely explains the categorical shift from 'participation' to 'consumption'. Although tickets for some events were needed to gain entry, these tended to be acquired free of charge - and at the very last minute - through existing social networks such as schools, family and friends. Un-ticketed events were readily accessible, and these were usually taken up for those sporting events, notably road cycling, which ventured furthest into the East End. Fewer patterns with regard to involvement were evident for this category, with both sport participants and non-participants alike being represented. The most plausible explanation for this absence of patterning was the largely random and 'eleventh hour' manner of ticket availability.

As might be expected, the horizons impact for this level was less substantive than for those on the first rung. On the one hand, there were some notable gains insofar as individuals had the opportunity to watch different sports at venues that they had not visited before and to savour the communal spirit engendered by watching an event together with fellow spectators, sufficiently potent to elicit a physical sensation such as a *'lump in the throat'* or *'goose bumps'*. That said, these young people attended events with friends and family members, which had the effect of strengthening existing networks, rather than generating new ones. Although they engaged in conversation with other spectators, some of whom were from overseas, this was conducted at a superficial level: *'when I was at the netball, I met a few people who were sitting next to me. They enjoyed it, and we had a laugh. It was nice'* (Manny, Wave 2). The essence of 'all that remained' (Chappelet 2012) was the retention of a fragment of history and an accompanying personal narrative: *'Like, just being there, like you can say to people 'aw, I was at the CWG, and I saw this, and I saw that. You never know if you would get that chance again'* (Emma, Wave 2).

### 7.3.2.3 Active Consumption: Distal

The legacy literature recommends that extended opportunities for sociability should be created by means of 'live sites' and by the inclusion of ancillary cultural events (Chalip, 2006, McGillivray and Frew, 2014). Participation at this level warranted its own classification because of the symbolic and geographical distance involved between experiencing an event at close quarters and seeing it at arm's length. By the same token, this level had an 'active' component because of the conscious effort required on the part of the participant to visit the Live Zone.

Danny had excluded himself from planned involvement with the CWG because he did not see himself as sporty: *'If I'm honest, I don't think that I'd feel that do anything. It's more seen around sporty people, and I'm not really a sporting person'* (Wave 1). Self-exclusion was again offered as an explanation at Wave 2 for not trying for event tickets: *'The main thing that stopped me from doing it was thinking that all the tickets were away. I'd seen quite a few adverts that there were tickets left, but I heard a few people saying that it was only like really expensive tickets'*. Nonetheless, during Games-time, he had opted to go with friends to the Live Zone at Glasgow Green in the East End to watch sporting highlights and live sport on large screens and cultural performances on stage: *'Yeah, I went to Glasgow Green. There were so many people there. It had a kinda festival atmosphere, there was always music playing. There was like games and free stuff, always handed out, just different attractions and stuff'* (Wave 2). He and his friends also enjoyed walking around the perimeter of the East End venues and into the city centre in order to mingle with the crowds and immerse themselves in the festival atmosphere. In terms of residual value, Danny had positive memories but, as for the previous group, there was no evidence of any significant changes in his social connections or spatial behaviour.

### 7.3.2.4 Passive Consumption

Like other mega sporting events, the CWG was a highly mediated event in which broadcasters and journalists conveyed images and interpretations that shaped public opinion (Dixon and Gibbons, 2014). This level is associated with watching the CWG, either on TV or online. Colin, a recreational sports participant, spent a large proportion of the CWG on holiday in his European country of origin and was therefore well placed to provide an account of the mediated experience of watching the CWG: *'If you just watch it on tele and you just watch the Games, it doesn't really give you an understanding of what Glasgow is and how things are. 'Cause they only give you the good perspective and the good angle, but*

*then the reality is quite different without the Games'*. Ironically, the missing items cited by him, namely '*gang violence and that kind of problems around Glasgow, crime*' (Wave 2), were the very same aspects which the media usually highlighted in their routine representation of the East End. There was no evidence of any social or spatial gain at this level of participation.

### **7.3.2.5 Passive Non-participation**

Personal accounts from the sizeable minority of young people in this group indicated a high level of apathy or absence of curiosity about the hosting of the CWG on their doorstep. The following were typical responses:

*'I didn't even...I forgot they were happening, sort of' (Peter, Wave 2).*

*'I wasn't really interested in it. I didn't really get involved' (Gill, Wave 2).*

*'I just couldn't really be bothered going. I just had other stuff I'd rather have done' (Lisa, Wave 2).*

*'I just didn't feel that I wanted to go [to the CWG]' (Ben, Wave 2).*

Not surprisingly, the dominant theme in these interviews was the challenge involved in maintaining a normal routine during the duration of the Games. Several narratives indicated a degree of spatial entrapment or 'dis-benefit': '*I didn't think that was very fair because people have lives, and they shouldn't be cut off because there's something going on in Glasgow*' (Ben, Wave 2). One girl described the negative consequences of road closures to her immediate family:

*'My mum absolutely hated it [the CWG] because my gran...she takes my gran out some days...especially during the summer..but my gran's 90, so she needs the car to get places, and my mum couldn't really get to my gran cause they shut off most of the roads that you need. Cause they shut off from right down there to up past ours, so we couldn't get to my gran at all. So my gran ended up not going out much' (Lisa, Wave 2).*

Moreover, as the following exchange between the researcher and Leona at Wave 2 indicates, there was no social benefit to be derived at this participation level:

*The Games was presented as an opportunity for people like you to have a chance to do new things and meet new people. To what extent do you think that happened for you?*



*'For me? Not really, no. Maybe for people who are more involved in it, who are at the events and stuff, to meet new people and stuff, but not really me. I think there was quite a lot of opportunities for younger people as well to do stuff at it, but not me in particular'.*

*Tell me a bit more about that..what might have been the reason that you weren't involved?*

*'I dunno. I just didn't really get into it.'*

An analysis of people in this group revealed certain common features. The most significant contextual influence was a disinterest in sport (*'I think it's just that I've never done sports and things like that'* (Chris, Wave 2). There was also a tendency to perceive the CWG as a sporting event only, which might be related to the fact that all (bar one) attended School B, with little or no awareness of the ancillary cultural component. When told about the latter during the interview, one boy responded: *'I still think that it was mainly about sports, because that's all you really heard about during the CWG, but if they were trying to do something else, then they could have made it a bit more obvious'* (Ben, Wave 2). The following reflection from Ben underlined a tendency amongst young people in this group to be opportunity 'blind' (*'I didn't really get any opportunities'*).

An analysis of participant responses found no supporting evidence of financial barriers in the study sample. Notwithstanding, the issue of poverty arose in a more general discussion about differentiated participation in the Games. In the following exchange, a respondent suggested the presence of socio-economic or structural barriers by way of explanation:

*'I reckon a lot of people will have ignored what was going on, because they will have been more focused on what they were...I'd say maybe pupils from less privileged backgrounds and that, they were sort of ignoring the CWG really. They knew it was going on and that but they just weren't that focused on it'.*

*What gives you that impression..what are you basing that thought on?*

*'In our school, in that I guess the worse performing kids, they don't really take an interest in it. I think it's maybe because of the background they've come from, their family's not bought tickets and not bothered with it because they maybe see more important issues going on'.*

*Is that something that you know happened, that they were less involved?*

*'I would say so. Looking around the school and when you're talking to people, it was definitely like the better off kids who were more interested in it' (Gerry, Wave 2).*

This perception echoed that of another respondent who explained others' non-participation in terms of their focus on simply 'getting by' in their daily lives: *'Some people around the East End, they couldn't care less if it was the OG or the CWG. (...) I think the thing that they worry most about is getting food on the table and paying for their electric or something like that. Not the CWG' (Calum, Wave 2).* In other words, they were excluded from participation because they did not possess the economic capital required to 'consume' the CWG.

In summing up this section about engagement, there was evidence of considerable contextual 'layering'. In the first instance, schools were found to be an important medium or channel, with the bulk of ancillary CWG-related programmes, occurring within this setting under the GoS banner. A second contextual factor was the school attended, insofar as the two schools in this study exemplified contrasting levels of engagement, resulting in differential exposure to legacy programmes hypothesised to expand social and spatial horizons. That said, the significance of this should not be overstated because the sample profile differed between the two schools, with a higher representation of less affluent pupils in School B compared to School A (Chapter 5). Within individual schools, the study data indicated that the exigencies of preparation for external examination were a major constraining influence. Indeed, only a small minority of young people in this sample were found to be engaged in school projects, over and above those events involving the captive audience of the whole school or S4 school year. As far as the CWG event itself was concerned, a spectrum of participation was evident, from active participation to passive non-participation. For the most and least participating groups, key determinants were an interest in sport and the school attended. For other levels of participation, there was little evidence of patterning because of the somewhat random manner in which tickets for events became available.

## 7.4 Reflections on the CWG

With the notable exception of Cashman (2006), whose aptly-named title, *The Bitter-Sweet Awakening*, was written shortly after the fifth anniversary of Sydney 2000, the post-Games period has been largely ignored in the literature. Although the time lapse is considerably shorter in this study (4-6 months after the CWG), the data indicated that sufficient time had passed to allow the post-Games 'halo effect' to subside, and a degree of reality to set in. The

following represents an analysis of the summative statements made by young people after the CWG event.

### 7.4.1 'Communitas'

The most striking aspect of the sporting event for young people was their recollection of a sense of community, not least because it was unanticipated: *'It was amazing. We didn't expect it..I didn't expect it to be anything like it was'* (Emma, Wave 2). This social phenomenon succeeded in transcending the sporting event itself, with one boy's enduring memory of a *'sort of festival atmosphere, it doesn't matter it's a sporting event, it was more of a celebration'* (Gerry, Wave 2). Despite its ubiquity, there was evidence of an experiential gradation, with those towards the top of the participation ladder contributing to its intensity during events; while those at the bottom of the ladder speaking about it mainly from the perspective of a witness or observer. Nonetheless, the overall effect of this festival atmosphere was to inject added significance during the Games. Even the most cynical young commentators in this sample conceded that something meaningful had occurred: *'I'd say it in three words, People Make Glasgow<sup>24</sup>, that's really it. Naw, that was what I really felt about the CWG. It brought everybody together'* (Danny, Wave 2).

Indeed, the CWG event created ample opportunities for sociability, with several talking positively about their incidental encounters with visitors to their neighbourhood:

*'Like, walking down the street, you would bump into people from different countries, like I was on the train into town, and I was talking to people from like..Aye, New Zealand, Australia, India, these CW countries that..there's no chance of me meeting out in the street just randomly..and I was speaking to them on the train, talking to them about Glasgow, where to go and what to see'* (Danny, Wave 2).

*'And a lot of people would come up to you and be like, where's this place? Like, even asking for a park that you just used to grow up in. And it was just good to show people around where you were staying'* (Avril, Wave 2).

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<sup>24</sup> 'People Make Glasgow' was launched by GCC in June 2013 following a 'crowd branding' exercise using digital media. At the launch event, the GCC Leader claimed that the branding reflected the Glaswegian character: 'It's bold, friendly, confident, and it evokes a real sense of pride. The people of Glasgow are at the heart of this brand; we have created something which presents a truly distinctive identity for the city'.

<https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=10237> (accessed 12 June 2014).

One boy observed that such face-to-face social interactions had diminished in the modern technological world:

*'I think the CWG stopped that [using mobile phones], completely stopped that, because everybody was talking with everybody. It didn't even matter where you're from and what you're here for. Because it was the CWG, everybody just talking to each other' (Todd, Wave 2).*

The prevailing atmosphere was often difficult to articulate in words: *'I don't know how to describe it. It's just that everybody was together, and it was a good feeling' (Gerry, Wave 2)*. On occasions, it produced a physical response: for example, Emma described how watching the gymnastics had given her goose bumps, and the medal ceremonies a lump in the throat; while several talked about the Athletes' Parade having sent shivers down their spine. In the same transcendental vein, there was also a feeling amongst some respondents of being transported 'beyond place': *'It just seemed totally different. It seemed as if you weren't in Glasgow' (Calum, Wave 2)*.

The study data indicated a late awakening of interest in the CWG. The flypast of the Red Arrows and the presence of the Queen which marked the official Opening conveyed for many the significance and scale of the event for the very first time: *'Cause this was the first big realisation how big this was to me' (Morag, Wave 2)*. Moreover, there was evidence of a growing interest amongst young people as the event unfolded:

*'I wasn't really interested in it at first, and then it would come to the middle of it basically, and then I'd be interested in it. But I was interested in it more near the end' (Avril, Wave 2).*

*'Cause it was only when it started, things started happening. ..(.) So, until all the people started coming and it was on TV, and then people realised actually what was happening (Louise, Wave 2).*

The corollary was that the vast majority expressed regret that they had not become involved more fully and at an earlier stage: *'I didn't think it would have been that good. The CWG. I didn't think I would have enjoyed it that much. That's why I didn't volunteer' (Manny, Wave 2)*. These findings echoed the surveys conducted during the Vancouver Winter OG which found that a significant shift in public opinion occurred through the course of the Games as Vancouver residents became more actively and emotionally involved over time (Hiller and Wanner, 2011). Interestingly, the authors presented the 'active street life' which was 'untypical of normal urban behaviour' in the city as an important avenue for further analysis.

Drawing on anthropological scholarship, Chalip (2006) claims that the celebratory nature of sport events engenders a sense of 'communitas', which can be leveraged for its social value, such as building social networks, addressing social issues, and empowering community action. However, the weakness of his argument is that it ignores the ephemerality of this social phenomenon. The analogies drawn by young people in this study serve to convey its transitory nature. The image of a balloon deflating is evoked by the following description of the aftermath of the CWG: '*and after [the CWG], it wasn't the cheerful Glasgow anymore. The atmosphere just went down*' (Todd, Wave 2). This is not dissimilar to the simile suggested by Said: '*It was like a chemical reaction. It was effervescent for two weeks but now it's just bubbled down*' (Wave 2).

### 7.4.2 Suspension of Disbelief

Suspension of disbelief is an essential component of a theatrical production and suggests that judgement is suspended for the duration of the performance i.e. the audience is not expected to believe in the narrative in order to enjoy the performance. The related notion of authenticity is borne out in young people's responses to the media representation of Glasgow at this time: '*Nothing like Glasgow! It was too happy and cheery, and Glasgow's not like that*' (Lisa, Wave 2). Calum illustrates this very same point in his story about encountering police officers during Games time: '*The police were weirdly enough far more friendly*'. He described walking along with his friends to an event ('*I mean young boys in a group, the police would think we're up to something*') when a police van drew up alongside them only to drive off again when the police officers noticed a group of tourists nearby:

*'And, yeah, basically, they were just putting on a pretty face so the tourists would think highly of them. But if that were to be outside of Game Time, then they [the boys] would have been like booked. They would have been booked probably for being in a big group, which is stupid. But seeing everyone with a positive attitude and a big smile on their face, even though most times, it's probably fake, and they're told to put it on, it still made me feel as if Glasgow was a happier place. It was a better place.'*

Calum's response indicates that he understood the scenario to be false, but that he was satisfied to play along with it, because he too was part of the fabrication.

### 7.4.3 Suspension of Norms

Young people's accounts indicated a temporary suspension of local norms during the CWG event. Morag, having expressed her concern previously that fighting might break out during

the CWG, expressed her feelings of relief, describing how rivalries had been set aside for the duration of the event:

*'Eh, there was no drama. Like people would usually think that Glaswegians and Glasgow in the East End are all fighting and stuff, and there was no drama, like there was no fighting. Like, at an Old Firm game, people would just start fighting. Like you couldn't get Rangers and Celtic people to go and watch a big screen down at the Green, but, when it was there, it was like a happy atmosphere. Everybody was just happy for their own country and stuff like that. There was no bitterness or rivalry' (Wave 2).*

The suspension was particularly beneficial to those young people normally affected by spatial constraints. For example, one boy described how he was able to venture into previously restricted areas because of safety in numbers and increased security during the Games: *'There was a police presence, and there was just a crowd, so nothing would have happened' (Danny, Wave 2).*

That said, the general consensus was that normal business had resumed immediately upon the conclusion of the CWG:

*'I think things have gone back to normal. There's no lasting memories of the Games...well, there is, but, I mean, to the extent that actual things are changing drastically...things are just settling back to normal' (Colin, Wave 2).*

*'It's just went back to normal. I feel that it was normal, and then it went really happy and busy, and then it just went back to normal, like as soon as it was done' (Leona, Wave 2).*

*'It came and went' (Peter, Wave 2).*

There was also a perception that the ending of the Games had been executed by the event organisers in an abrupt and brutal manner:

*'As soon as that [CWG ended], everybody left and I felt like Glasgow just basically went back to its normal self. They took everything away, all the memorabilia and stuff like that' (Morag, Wave 2).*

*'For the two weeks, there was a big change. There was a lot of friendliness, there was a lot of socialising, and then after the Closing Ceremony, the next day, everybody up and gone, that was it. It was as if they had never happened' (Danny, Wave 2).*

Since then, there was a sense that the CWG had not been talked about much, that it had already been assigned to history: *'I've not really heard anyone speak about the CWG since*

*it finished*' (Calum, Wave 2). The following excerpt was typical of young people's summation of the event: *'It was an amazing experience, but it wasn't long lasting'* (Leona, Wave 2). The important point to make here is the lack of attention given to the post-Games period by event organisers; the organisers quickly clear up and move on, but local people might like some of the additional social opportunities to continue.

## 7.5 Chapter Summary

Scholars argue that pre-Games engagement is critical in terms of building an enduring social legacy. In this respect, schools represented the primary conduit for CWG and determined young people's exposure to a range of sporting and cultural opportunities. This study found that only a few young people, the so-called 'obvious people', participated in a substantive way in selected CWG-related projects, resulting in an expansion of their social and spatial horizons. Of some concern was the finding that those who might have gained most from Glasgow 2014-related projects were the least likely to have engaged with them.

With regard to Games time, the 'feel good' mechanism generated a temporary celebration or festival effect which successfully broadened the reach of the CWG. The unique atmosphere of this brief period was judged by young people as the highlight of the CWG, bringing unprecedented opportunities for social interaction with other people, including overseas visitors, albeit fleetingly and superficially. The heightened sense of community during the Games erased social distinctions and removed notions of partisanship. There was a spatial dimension too, insofar as it prompted local people to look afresh at their city and neighbourhood and enabled them to roam more freely than usual.

Nevertheless, in retrospect, young people doubted whether the social value created during the CWG event had solid foundations or constituted lasting social change. Indeed, the data indicated a common perception that 'business as usual', temporarily suspended during Games time, had resumed immediately thereafter. In this respect, most young people shared Louise's view that: *'maybe some people have changed, but I think like the biggest majority of people are still the same as they've always been'*. This claim will be discussed further in the next chapter which critically examines the success of the CWG in inspiring young people to raise their aspirations.

## **Chapter 8     A Source of Inspiration**

### **8.1 Chapter Overview**

The inspiration mechanism, writ large in official versions of the value of multi-sport events, theorises that the hosting of the CWG will be influential in raising individual aspirations. The logic is straightforward. The hypothesis in the interim LM assumes that the CWG would introduce multiple social actors, including athletes and visitors, under whose influence young people's horizons might be altered in some way; and that this inspiration would in turn lead to purposeful action in the form of renewed personal goals. The attention granted to aspirational changes is justified insofar as they represent the litmus test in terms of whether or not an enduring impact has been left behind in the wake of the event hosting; if none is found, then the inspirational effect of the CWG might be viewed as nothing more than ephemeral, in the sense of having the effect of stirring up emotions, which subside again upon removal of the stimuli, marking a return to a normal state of affairs.

The chapter is organised into three sections. Given their shared interest in raising aspirations, the CWG hosting is situated first within the macro context of Scottish educational policy, and then in relation to current educational practice in the two East End schools in the study. Secondly, the inspirational items in the CWG legacy portfolio are unpacked singly, and their resonance with study participants examined. The final part turns its attention to the aspirations of young people; it assesses the extent to which the CWG might have inspired young people to shift their future navigational points, determines the specific nature of changes attributable to the CWG, and identifies the major contextual factors at play. Pen portraits are used in this concluding section to convey both the range and the scale of the inspirational impact of the CWG on young people.

### **8.2 Embedding the CWG in Education**

The legacy literature recommends that event organisers should endeavour to embed legacy planning within existing policies and strategies (Smith, 2009), so that progress on these might be accelerated due to the 'catalytic effect' of the hosting occasion (McCartney, 2010). In the paragraphs below, it will be shown that the congruence between the CWG and the Scottish educational framework greatly facilitated this embedding process, due in no small part to their shared worldviews and focus on outcomes pertaining to the future generation of young people, a group considered by the general public as a legacy priority.



### 8.2.1 Educational Policy: ‘Going for Gold’

The recent introduction of Scotland’s Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) is explicated in public documentation as a response to increased pressures associated with globalisation, particularly in respect of economic competitiveness and citizenship (Priestley and Biesta, 2013). Since 2003, when a Review Group was first established to develop a new curricular model, the dominant policy discourse has been articulated in terms of young people needing support to acquire the key competencies<sup>25</sup> deemed necessary to adapt and thrive in a brave new competitive world (Learning Teaching Scotland, 2011, Scottish Executive, 2004). As discussed in Chapter 3, this envisioned future embodies an inherent tension between a meritocratic world of unbounded possibilities; and an unequal world, in which individuals compete to maintain or improve their position based on a form of ‘social Neo-Darwinism’ (Bourdieu, 1998). Allied to this is the assumption in current UK and Scottish educational policy that young people, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds, harbour low aspirations and therefore need encouragement or inspiration from others to acquire a different mind-set and to set their sights higher (Kintrea et al., 2015, Menzies, 2015). Thus conceived, aspiration is more often than not promoted by policymakers as a matter of social justice (Cummings et al., 2012, Gutman and Akerman, 2008, Sinclair et al., 2010). No doubt this was what Gordon Matheson, former Glasgow City Council Leader, had in mind when he pronounced a legacy ambition that ‘everyone will take home memories, but I also want them [every Glaswegian] to take home aspirations for the future’ (p.3).

The ease with which the CWG embedded itself within Scottish educational policy testifies to the high level of compatibility between the two phenomena. Game on Scotland (GoS), the official CWG education programme, was developed with the aim of promoting the sporting event as a platform for cross-curricular learning around the theme of global citizenship (Education Scotland, 2015). To this end, the GoS promotional video made explicit the desire to utilise the CWG to get young people ‘inspired, informed and connected somehow to the wider world’, with rhetorical statements aplenty encouraging learners to ‘go for gold in all aspects of their lives’ and ‘make dreams come true’ (transcript in Appendix 5). The programme itself contained a multitude of items in its toolbox, including a dedicated website which provided CWG-related information, educational resources and other support materials, together with a host of engagement opportunities including seminars, competitions, challenges, mascot visits, event tickets, and athlete visit programmes. Indeed,

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<sup>25</sup> Four so-called ‘capacities’ represent the cornerstone of CfE and are formulated as: ‘successful learner’; ‘confident individual’; ‘responsible citizen’; and ‘effective contributor’.

at a recent post-Games seminar<sup>26</sup>, the lead Education Scotland official was heard to laud the CWG as a galvanising force, which, according to him, brought ‘breadth and depth’ to learning and delivered an ‘achievement vision for our young people’.

Amongst the resources made available to schools were PowerPoint presentations, which were accompanied by prepared scripts to be used at assemblies and in classrooms. These included an extensive portfolio of 29 Learning Pathways tailored to the Secondary School sector (Education Scotland, 2013). Two of these were especially pertinent to this study. The first pathway, entitled ‘*Be the Best You Can Be*’, defined the accepted blueprint for success in its encouragement of young people to set high expectations for themselves, to determine their goals, and to work hard to achieve these. The explicit aim of the second learning pathway, ‘*Creating Ambition - Beyond Sport*’, was to encourage learners, ‘especially where they are not passionate about sports’ to connect the ambition of CWG athletes with their own dreams and aspirations in terms of developing an open mindedness about possibilities and identifying ways in which they might influence change in their own lives. These educational mantras reveal the underpinning paradigm of young people forging their individual journeys within a meritocratic world of equal opportunity and taking responsibility for their own lives. This is not to say however that individual schools were unaware of opportunity structures and made no attempt to ‘break the cycle’ of social inequality.

### 8.2.2 Educational Practice: Breaking the Cycle

The commitment of school personnel in this study to the raising of aspirations and their concerted attempts to tackle inequality were impressive. In both schools, there were multiple interventionist strategies aimed at modifying individual habitus and facilitating the accrual of social and cultural capital. In this respect, teachers might be portrayed as agents of transformation rather than reproduction (the latter was a criticism levelled by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) against the French education system in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century). As demonstrated below, their transformative practices extended beyond the provision of careers advice and guidance, more often than not the focus of recent previous empirical studies (Smyth and Banks, 2012). More fundamentally, teacher accounts indicated a primary interest in dismantling perceived barriers to high aspirations. The various programmes and initiatives delivered by the two schools are grouped below according to the conceptual trio

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<sup>26</sup> The researcher attended a ‘Game on Scotland’ seminar, hosted by Education Scotland, as part of the Scottish Learning Festival on 24 Sept 2014.

of habitus, social capital and cultural capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The intention here is not to address the current knowledge gap regarding the effectiveness of such interventions (Cummings et al., 2012, McKinney et al., 2012), but rather to understand them as contextual influences in relation to the outcome of interest in this study. Critically, these practices were found to be established prior to the CWG and its legacy programmes and therefore represent the background canvas against which the event hosting in the East End should be viewed.

### **8.2.2.1 Habitus**

The concept of ‘habitus’ is used to explain how individuals see the world and how they act in it (Bourdieu, 1990). Habitus denotes an underlying disposition which simultaneously is ‘structured’ by one’s past and present, as well as ‘structuring’ one’s present and future practices (ibid). Two anecdotes from key informants provide compelling accounts of the perceived problem of narrow perceptual readings of the world among disadvantaged pupils. In the first, a key informant recalled her response to a young girl proclaiming that she could see the ‘whole world’ from the classroom window:

*‘And all I could think was ‘That is so...this is not the whole world’, do you know that way? And part of me was really sad. ‘Cause all I could think was that this was a fraction of the world, but to her, that was it (...). Instead, there’s a huge world out there’ (Pastoral Care Teacher, School A).*

In a similar vein, another key informant spoke of her reaction to accompanying pupils on a school visit to the University of Glasgow, the first time that some of them had ever ventured into the city’s West End:

*‘And I’m thinking ‘this is just across the motorway’. And I thought ‘wow, it opens your eyes to the fact that some of these kids don’t leave the area, or they’re thinking that’s for pure posh people, and I’m going, ‘It’s not, you can do it’’ (Pastoral Care Teacher, School B).*

Teachers expressed concerns about the localisation of pupil worldviews, with place attachment or territoriality perceived to denote low aspirations. Examples were given of staff encouraging college applicants to travel further afield for a more relevant course, rather than the closest one geographically, with the necessity to take two buses to get to their destination regarded as ‘a good learning experience in itself’ (Depute Head, School B). These examples reveal the contextual influence of ‘socialised subjectivity’ which determines the limit of one’s socio-spatial horizons, and the extent to which a ‘hope or an ambition is considered

reasonable or unreasonable, a particular commodity as accessible or inaccessible, or a particular action suitable or unsuitable' (Reed-Dannahay, 2005 p.13).

In response to a question about the likely uptake of CWG-related opportunities, it was evident that, while staff considered some pupils to be open to opportunities, others were judged to be opportunity 'blind':

*'Obviously, some of them, you'll get the pupils who are involved in everything, and confident, and enthusiastic' (2014 Lead, School A).*

*'The good, well-motivated kids will get up and get on with and get into everything' (Depute Head, School A).*

*'They don't see the opportunities that the [CWG is] creating for them' (2014 Lead, School B).*

*'Some of them will sit and watch it on the television because it's sport, but it won't be any more meaningful than that, even though it's in their back garden' (Depute Head, School A).*

The existence of a 'middle' group, for whom the greatest benefit might be accrued, is suggested in the following quotation, in which a key informant outlines her selection criteria for a forthcoming programme of athlete visits to the school:

*'So it's up to me as a PE teacher to pick which 30 pupils, and they're [programme organisers] suggesting middle-of-the-road, rather than your elites who have already got aspirations, or those who really have no interest. Pupils in the middle of the road that might actually click onto something like that. (...) The pupils that are aware of the CWG, they'll know everything that's going, they've got their own aspirations, they know where they want to go, and you'll have seen that in some of the pupils you've spoken to, they know what they want to do; others are not interested, they don't care, and it doesn't matter what you tell them, they still don't really care, but a group in the middle, that will be the group that would benefit most' (2014 Lead, School B).*

This conceptualisation of a three-part typology, comprising a group located between the extremes of the most and least engaged young people echoes the clarion call in the literature to afford more scholarly attention to the 'missing middle' of 'ordinary' young people (Roberts, 2011, Roberts, 2012, Snee and Devine, 2014, Woodman, 2013), so that a more holistic understanding of youth in the contemporary world might be achieved.

School staff acknowledged their supportive role in helping pupils realise their potential: *'It's just a case of keeping them motivated and making sure that they're going for as high as they*

can achieve ..and not sort of setting a low benchmark for themselves because they see it as easier' (Depute Head, School A). In this regard, they demonstrated an understanding of the psychological impacts on young people of living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood:

*'I think they have a thing where they think they're from this area, from this school, and that in some way means that they're less than other people, so the more that we can put them out there, and show them how they compare to other people, the more that builds up their confidence' (Depute Head, School B).*

*'I think, in terms of raising their aspirations, they get so many opportunities, not just within the school, but through working with a whole range of people, who say 'you can do this'' (Pastoral Care Teacher, School B).*

Focus West<sup>27</sup>, a partner-led programme running for more than a decade, warrants particular mention at this juncture. With a stated objective of widening participation in tertiary education, this initiative seeks to alter personal trajectories by bringing onto the radar of young people post-school options and destinations which previously they might not have considered:

*'So we do Focus West (..) so pupils who have got the capabilities to go on to university but may not think about going, they may think 'naw, it's not for me', so it's to raise their aspirations really. So we identify 30 pupils at the start of S3, and they embark on a two-year programme working with colleges, unis... They go out, they are involved in projects, they get to see round campuses, they get to go to seminars, do things like that' (Pastoral Care Teacher, School B).*

*'It [Focus West] gets them to think about the possibility of going there and the choices, and it's a wee bit of support. If they haven't known anybody that's at university or never been near the building, it makes it a bit more 'real'' (Depute Head, School A).*

Interestingly, more than half of the pupils in the study sample had been involved in Focus West since S3. All of them talked positively about their involvement in the programme, including access to information about future pathways; the opportunity to 'top up' grades to gain entry into Higher Education; and the ongoing mentoring and guidance received from university students and staff.

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<sup>27</sup> Focus West provides multi-strand activities for targeted pupils in each year from S3 to S6 and is delivered by staff and students from colleges and universities in the west of Scotland. Although the range of activities has extended over time, the core programme of campus visits has been available since 2000. <http://www.focuswest.org.uk/>.

### 8.2.2.2 Social Capital

The key informants in this study highlighted the support provided by schools in correcting perceived deficits in social capital. Accordingly, for those experiencing multiple social hardships, the school fulfilled a protective function: *'we do the best we can in terms of making sure that [the most disadvantaged pupils] are okay'* (Pastoral Care Teacher, School B). This was achieved by the provision of a safe and secure environment: *'For a lot of our pupils, it's the most stable part of their life, that they will have'* (Pastoral Care Teacher, School A), as well as early intervention to support those in greatest need: *'Our kids are put on a RAG list.. it's Red, Amber and Green...in terms of need'* (Pastoral Care Teacher, School B). Central to this effort was partnership working with other welfare agents such as educational officers, social workers, and community police. Indeed, a teacher compared her current pastoral role in a disadvantaged urban area like the East End to her previous one in a rural town: *'we do have a lot of liaison with social work. In [place where she previously worked], we had one social work office and two social workers. Down here, I'm dealing with like 20 different social workers for various pupils. So it is. It's tougher'* (Pastoral Care Teacher, School B).

Partnership working also extended to employers, with schools benefitting from the corporate social responsibility programmes of large private sector organisations: *'Lots of these big companies are trying to give something back to the community, so we're just trying to exploit that for the benefit of our young people, to be perfectly honest (laughs). I mean, it's brilliant, it's absolutely brilliant!'* (Depute Head, School B). The long established coaching and mentoring programme delivered by PwC<sup>28</sup> was singled out for particular praise in School B:

*'Basically, PwC run workshops for entire year groups. We've just had an entire Third Year workshop last week, which was about employability skills, preparing for work, preparing for Senior Phase. They take our entire Third Years over to their big fancy offices and give them a big fancy lunch and do really great workshops all day with them. In Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Year, PwC, they have about 40 mentors, so they work on a 1:1 basis with young people that we identify as would really benefit from having a mentor. And that again is very individualised so it might be a young person who isn't going to go into a role like accountancy or PwC itself, but who would really work well with having a strong adult role model, who would mentor them and coach them'* (Depute Head, School B).

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<sup>28</sup> PwC is the world's largest professional services organisation, ranked number 1 UK graduate employer in The Times' annual survey for the past 11 years.

Programmes such as these exemplify the ‘culture of real partnership between employers and education’, advocated by the Commission for Developing Scotland’s Young Workforce, according to which employers are encouraged to view themselves as ‘co-investors/co-designers rather than simply customers’ (Scottish Government, 2014a). In this sense, business is at liberty to define what young people should be and what they should become.

Schools were also found to be active in forging social connections which were not otherwise accessible to disadvantaged young people. In this study, these included a work experience placement with a local dentist; a shadowing opportunity in a medical setting; and attendance at a lecture: *‘the school connects me a lot.. I went recently to a lecture by Sir Michael MacDonald who’s the Vice Chancellor of Strathclyde, so that was really good. That was really eye-opening’* (Said, Wave 1). One pupil described the contribution of teachers in this respect:

*‘Yeah, teachers are useful. They’re important to me, because they have contacts in the outside world as well, which they can ask, contacts that gets me places. And I can become more friendly with those contacts, and they then, they become my contacts’* (Calum, Wave 1).

This outward-facing connection was no better illustrated than in the signposting of senior pupils towards temporary employment opportunities related to the CWG:

*‘Like my brother. He’s got a job to do with the CWG....that was through school. The Home Economics department does Cooking for Excellence or something like that..(..). I think some of that department got him to go into the interviews’* (Chris, Wave 1).

The creation of ‘bridging’ social capital (Green and White, 2007, Lin, 2001, Putnam, 2000) in this way looks set to address the ‘network poverty’ identified in previous empirical studies by MacDonald et al. (2005) in facilitating links for pupils to information, material support and cultural examples.

Finally, both schools in this study provided an extensive repertoire of extra-curricular club activities. In the following extract, a key informant explains the contribution of the school in creating equal opportunities for all, irrespective of personal and family circumstances:

*‘It’s probably why we do so much in the school. We find that pupils maybe in the East End, either they don’t always have the support from parents to take them to a club, or they don’t always necessarily want to be walking about the East End at night, especially in winter, to go to a club, so the school*

*gives...hopefully gives them a lot of options that they might not necessarily get outwith the school' (2014 Lead, School A).*

School clubs were uniquely placed to identify potential, with several examples in this study of talented sporting individuals being identified by teachers and signposted to opportunities beyond the school gates. The impact on these young people's social and spatial horizons was unequivocal. Calum, who first became interested in rowing through his school club, was encouraged by a teacher to join a city-wide performance training squad. This brought him substantive 'bridging' social connections: *'it's pretty good to mix with people from different parts of Glasgow, especially the West End, where people from the East End don't really get on with people from the West End, cause they see them as posh and snobs' (Wave 1).* Similarly, Ellie progressed from her school athletics club to a local Scottish Athletics accredited club which gave her the opportunity to travel extensively across Scotland and northern Britain: *'The last place we went to, we went to Edinburgh for the competition. There were like other people from Glasgow Schools Sports, some of them from Aberdeen, all around doing the competition and stuff like that' (Wave 1).* There is much in the literature to support the view that young people's involvement in extracurricular activities has a positive influence on their aspirations (Gutman and Akerman, 2008).

### **8.2.2.3 Cultural capital**

Preparation for adult life was considered by key informants to be a major component of education, with the process of pupil orientation towards the future initiated on arrival from primary education:

*'I think we're preparing them from the minute they come into secondary, really, to be thinking about what it is their future is, so that we can provide an education that is best suited to what they want to do in their future after school. So school is really about helping to prepare them for their future' (Depute Head, School B).*

In the senior phase, this commitment involved providing pupil support with writing Curriculum Vitae; completing college or job applications; conducting mock interviews; and providing lunchtime and vacation study support to improve attainment. The value to pupils is evident in the following quotation: *'I think it's better letting us see what it's like, so when it comes that we need to apply for a job, we're not like oh my god, what do we do, what's happening?' (Lisa, Wave 1).* One boy acknowledged that his school was particularly supportive in this respect relative to other schools: *'I've been at stuff the last few weeks, just*



*different things I'm in the school, and I've been speaking to people, and they've not got UCAS classes or that to help them the same as we do' (Gerry, Wave 2).*

Success for schools was defined by key informants in terms of achieving 'positive destinations' for their pupils:

*'Not a 'I'll go and do this for a month, and then I'll jack it'. You know, we want them to get a positive destination, and we want them to maintain it in the long term, so that it is a stepping stone along their path of where they want to go next. That's what is positive' (Depute Head, School B).*

Consequently, considerable effort was channelled at progressing pupils towards post-16 pathways into employment, training, or tertiary education. The following extended quotation illustrates the labour-intensive process involved and the individualisation of options:

*'No, we just go down the list, and say right he's sorted, he's applied for college, right, [Name], we say, right, can you see him. She's the careers adviser, so the kids know her, she's excellent, she's 'open door' policy, pop in, and then we give her target pupils to say, right, he's not applied for anything, we need to be seeing him. She'll get him in, maybe do a personal statement, get college applications away, phone up colleges. If they're not engaging with [name], then we'll maybe look at [name] and get them a work coach or careers adviser or look at supporting them that way, getting them onto an activity agreement or something like that' (Pastoral Care Teacher, School B).*

Although recent statistics suggest that the two study schools have indeed been successful in this regard (74.8% in School A and 79.6% in School B have achieved positive destinations), these remain stubbornly below the equivalent figures for Glasgow City and Scotland (84.7% and 90.0% respectively).

Before moving onto the next section, it is useful to sum up the main headline messages thus far. A paradigmatic fit between education policy and the CWG was apparent from discussions with key informants and examination of CWG-related educational resources. However, the close alignment between them raises a causal conundrum in terms of the confidence with which observed attitudinal and aspirational changes might be attributed to the CWG. In particular, this study revealed the substantive work being undertaken in schools to promote social mobility and encourage young people to raise their sights higher. In an attempt to isolate the 'CWG effect', the next section scrutinises the active ingredients which relate uniquely to the hosting of the CWG in the East End. Writing in his blog, Weed (2013) reminds readers that 'any investments or programmes for which 'additionality' cannot be

demonstrated should not be attributed to legacy strategy, rather they should be regarded as parallel programmes that would have taken place anyway’.

### 8.3 Inspired by the CWG

The notion of ‘inspiration’ is a leitmotif within legacy discourse. In the case of London 2012, a headline promise was to ‘inspire a generation of young people’, understood in a broad sense to include sporting, cultural and volunteering outcomes (DCMS, 2008). Glasgow 2014 did not follow this lead in its own legacy planning; rather, the anticipated inspirational effect within its official legacy plans (Glasgow City Council, 2009, Scottish Government, 2009) was constructed as something universal rather than specific to young people, and its outcomes less clearly delineated. Indeed, the interim LM which informed this study was an attempt to tether the concept to a specific population sub-group and to test its success or otherwise with reference to a pre-determined outcome, that of socio-spatial horizons.

There is a paucity of scholarship relating to the inspirational impact of hosting a sporting mega event. Where it exists, the focus is invariably narrow, with the outcomes under consideration relating to participation in sport and physical activity, or to physical education (Coalter, 2004, Kidd, 2013, Kohe, 2015, Such, 2013, Weed et al., 2009). Although recent grey literature, most of it written in the aftermath of London 2012, includes evaluations of cultural and volunteering activities (DCMS, 2013, TNS BMRB, 2012), serious shortcomings were found in terms of their overall quality and public accessibility (Chapter 2).

At Wave 1, the apparent lack of emotional connection between most young people and the CWG meant that the discussion about inspiration was largely abstract. The impression gained by the researcher at this time was that of a latent mechanism, awaiting activation in response to imminent stimuli. Focus groups aroused some commentary since inspiration was writ large in the stimulus material (see Chapter 5); but the very notion of being inspired was quickly dismissed as rhetorical and nonsensical by young people, excepting competitive sports participants. By Wave 2, this situation had changed dramatically because young people were able to draw upon their own lived experiences of Glasgow 2014. In focus groups, pupils were asked to rate their agreement with a specific question related to inspiration (‘Glasgow 2014 has inspired young people in the East End to think differently about their future’), which positioned both mechanism and outcome at the forefront of the discussion. Additionally, young people were asked during 1:1 interviews whether or not there was anything in the CWG which they considered inspirational for them personally.

Their responses, examined below, revealed three primary inspirational sources, namely, elite athletes; visitors to the CWG; and Glasgow City. These are described below in descending order of significance.

### 8.3.1 Elite Athletes

In the months leading up to the CWG, athlete visits to schools constituted an important component within the GoS programme. School B used the occasion of the Schools' Baton Relay to arrange a school visit by an athlete so that *'everybody got to hear her story'*. The school also implemented a role model programme, 'Champions in Schools', from the stable of the Winning Scotland Foundation<sup>29</sup>. The school's desire to foreground the athlete's personal narrative and to broaden its relevance beyond sport is evident from the following quotation from the 2014 Lead:

*'And it doesn't necessarily have to be about sport. It can be about anything in their life but they have to sort of say, this is what I would like to work on, this is where I would like to get to, and they tell their stories. You know, most of the athletes that they've got have a story about how hard they've worked to do that' (2014 Lead, School B).*

Similarly, School A included the aptly-named 'Inspire>Aspire' programme from Character Scotland<sup>30</sup> within the Personal and Social Education (PSE) curricular stream. This programme invited young people to reflect on their personal values and qualities, identify an inspirational person in their lives, and develop a personal plan of action inspired by these same values. Although school staff aimed to harness inspirational choices to the forthcoming CWG, they were keen to de-emphasise sport: *'it doesn't need to be an athlete, so it can be anyone at all, but we try to push some of them towards, you know, what do you think of this in terms of Glasgow 2014, so the Commonwealth kinda aims' (2014 Lead, School B).* Working in partnership with Sky Academy<sup>31</sup>, School A deployed Steve Frew, Scotland's

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<sup>29</sup> Winning Scotland is a Scottish charitable organisation. Its vision is 'that all young people in Scotland achieve their personal best' and its mission to 'create a positive learning culture for young people, using sport to provide opportunities for them to develop important life skills'. <http://www.winningscotlandfoundation.org>.

<sup>30</sup> Character Scotland is an educational charity formed in 2009. Its stated aim is to equip young people with the 'skills, attributes and attitudes that empower them to develop as global citizens – living in ways that are moral, ethical and sustainable, and the characteristics which allow them to navigate the transitions between education, employment and civic engagement'. <https://www.character-scotland.org.uk>.

<sup>31</sup> Sky Academy claims that 'sport has the power to transform young people's lives'. Working with the Youth Sport Trust, Sky Sports Living for Sport links teachers and their students with a team of over 90 athlete mentors. <https://www.skyacademy.com/>. The organisation claims to have reached one third of secondary schools across the UK.

first ever gymnastics gold medallist in the Manchester CWG, as a motivational speaker for year assemblies. In the following excerpt from the official Legacy 2014 website, the athlete himself reveals his personal mission to inspire others by his own example:

*'The main thing I'd like to contribute from my achievements is to motivate and inspire more people, regardless of their circumstances in life. I believe everyone has the ability to 'just do that little bit more'. I now travel up and down the country working as an athlete mentor, visiting schools and businesses to share my story and to inspire as many individuals as I can' (Scottish Government, 2015d).*

Data collected at Wave 1 indicated that the inspirational message associated with athletes resonated primarily with competitive sports participants in the sample, illustrating the presence of a 'demonstration' effect (Weed et al., 2009):

*'when you're a young person, you look up to someone who would do excellent at sport or something. So you just like..I want to be like that person one day, and if you see that person winning, then you're like, if that person can win, the same applies to myself. If that person can do it, I can do it' (Ellie, Wave 1).*

*'You're watching these people and they inspire you. You're wanting to do as well as they're doing, you want to progress and do things to help things' (Emma, Wave 1).*

At the same time, these young people understood the potential of the CWG to deliver a broader-based inspirational effect. For example, Manny hoped that the CWG hosting might expand people's social horizons: *'More people will get out rather than just stay in, and more people will pay attention to what's going on around the world just than [their] own area, what matters around the world' (Wave 1)*; while Calum hoped that people in his community might be motivated *'to get off their backsides and, you know, do things, make something with their life' (Wave 1)*.

By contrast, occasional sports participants or non-participants at Wave 1 were sceptical about the assumed link between competitive excellence associated with major sporting events and mass participation. Danny, a recreational football player, dismissed the notion entirely: *'Badminton...you can't just say because I'm watching badminton, I'm going to be a badminton player tomorrow' (Wave 1)*; and Said, a non-sport participant, argued that only sport participants would be inspired:

*'The only people here [casting his eyes around the members of the focus group] who are inspired by it is Manny, and Manny's a very sporty man. You*

*invest so much money into something that's supposed to transcend sport, and yet it doesn't remotely. It doesn't at all' (Wave 1).*

The above statements underscore the overriding perception of the CWG as a sporting event and suggest that its inspirational impact might be reserved for sports participants only.

Notably, Morag was an outlier amongst her fellow non-participants in sport. Having talked initially about young people being inspired to become '*Glasgow's next athletes*', she recognised a wider inspirational appeal. This deviant view might be accounted for by her involvement in CWG-themed projects in School A: '*In school right now, we're doing a documentary in welcoming other countries, so people that maybe want to tour the world would be interested in it, people wanting to become a doctor would like 'I could help people in Malawi, or whoever's visiting'*'. This statement inadvertently reveals a Catch 22 scenario insofar as those who stand to gain most from CWG-related opportunities are those who might already be receptive to these. In this quotation, Morag has identified people, herself included, who want to go travelling, or those who aspire to be medical doctors.

However, post-Games, the narratives took a markedly different turn, which young people themselves attributed to the broadcasting of athletes' personal stories during the event:

*Who were the athletes telling their story to, and where did you hear those stories?*

*'I think the media mostly, especially the TV interviews just after winning the medals, because you see them at the time, sweating and that, and you think what they're saying is their honest opinion' (Gerry, Wave 2).*

Remarkably, a sizeable minority of young people in this study were able to recall these personal stories at Wave 2, some months after the CWG. Interestingly, no one single athlete stood out from amongst their cohort; rather, young people identified and appropriated role models which struck a unique and particular chord with them. The following examples are illustrative of the imprint made by individual athletes on some young people. Danny, adamant at first that nothing or no-one in the CWG had inspired him, admitted later that he had been struck by the winning attitude of a Scottish swimmer: '*That's an impact because I liked what he [the swimmer] said. I liked his wee quote. 'I don't train for second best. I train for gold'' (Wave 2).* Emma said she was inspired by a 13-year old swimmer who '*still went for it*' (Wave 2), despite her young age. Similarly, Gerry referred to the upward social trajectory of a boxing medallist: '*and then there was the boxer boy who works for the Royal Mail, him as well, his speech and people saying you don't need to be from a privileged*

*background to do something'* (Wave 2); and Said was struck by the surprise victory of a Scottish swimmer: *'Oh, I quite like that swimmer ...that Scottish swimmer...Ross something...I liked that..because he was the poster boy...and then the underdog won, so that was good. I liked that'* (Wave 2). Although the names and precise details had faded somewhat after the event, the generic attributes embodied by the athletes, namely ambition, self-belief, determination, resilience, and dedication, resonated still. The following quotations emphasise young people's perception of the relevance of these attributes to everyday life, particularly with regard to personal goal-setting and individual responsibility:

*'The values, you know, you can kinda carry that through to school, through your exams, you know, hard work, determination, you can do that'* (Said, Wave 2).

*'I think maybe the qualities that a sportsperson would have...the work ethic and the determination, that could inspire someone in other walks of life'* (Gerry, Wave 2).

*'Just because when you see them all training and things like that, you just know how hard they've actually worked to get there. So, if you work that hard, you could do it as well'* (Caitlin, Wave 2).

*'So it shows young people that no matter where you're from, or what you look like or how you live, everything's, anything's possible if you put your mind to it, so that's an example of that'* (Calum, Wave 2).

The imprint made by athletes varied across the sample of young people. For some, the potential inspirational effect of athletes was top of mind and mentioned spontaneously; for others, the modelling of behaviour was located at a more subliminal level and arose during the course of the conversation after probing and prompting by the researcher; while for others still, there was no particular connection with competing athletes other than their desire to get physically close to a 'famous' person (one girl regretted that she had not gone with her friends to the local supermarket in their successful pursuit of 'selfies' with visiting athletes). Nonetheless, the study findings mark an important shift from athletes being seen as primarily role models for sporting participation and excellence (Coalter, 2004) and broadens the conceptualisation of a demonstration effect to include non-sporting outcomes.

### **8.3.2 Visitors to the CWG**

The Theory of Social Exchange can be drawn upon to explain the range of perceptions and attitudes towards visitors. In this study, attitudes towards visitors were positive in those cases where the benefits (social encounters) derived from the exchange or interaction situation

were perceived to outweigh the costs (people congestion); and negative, when the costs were perceived to outweigh the benefits. First applied to the field of tourism by Ap (1992), the theory was used by Waitt (2003) to account for differences in general public support for Sydney 2000. This CWG study is the first to apply the theoretical framework to host residents' perceptions of external visitors to a sporting event.

Visitors to the East End made a notable impression on local young people, not least because vehicular restrictions during the eleven days of the CWG event meant that visitors were obliged to walk about in the area or take public transport. The transport stipulation provided multiple opportunities for social interactions between visitors and the host population, an outcome which contrasted with Danny's initial scepticism about potential opportunities to encounter outsiders: *'I was expecting it just to be like...you would see nobody...like they would stay away from where we are, because we've got a bad reputation, and it would be just like to the Velodrome and then get any form of transport out back to the city centre'* (Danny, Wave 2).

Visitors comprised athletes, tourists, and residents from other parts of Glasgow. The study found that the presence of visitors in their neighbourhood was satisfying for the overwhelming majority of young people, who were pleased to enact the role of local expert and guide: *'And it was just good to show people around where you were staying'* (Avril, Wave 2). Nonetheless, the concentration of people proved irksome for a few individuals who struggled at times to maintain their usual routine: *'Well, just like...it was a bit murder, cause like getting the buses and that, and it was like mobbed and that, like people getting on'* (Caitlin, Wave 2).

Visitors to the East End of Glasgow had the direct effect of raising consciousness in two respects. Firstly, the CWG brought the world to Glasgow and the East End. The fact that 71 nations and territories were represented in the Games prompted young people to consider Scotland's place in a global context, with the ritualistic Athletes' Parade during the Opening Ceremony receiving frequent mention. The following statement from a key informant spoke to the horizon-expanding benefit of local people having the opportunity to encounter a broader social mix:

*'I think the fact that there's going to be people coming from like so many different places, it'll be really good for them to experience loads of different cultures and things and to see people coming to visit the area that they know, I*

*think that will be really fruitful for them. And you would hope that would open up their eyes as well to different things' (Pastoral Care Teacher, School A).*

Said was also struck by the positive ambience generated by the multicultural composition of the crowds: *'It was interesting to see people round about you, just people from different countries, it was quite cosmopolitan, you know, that was good' (Wave 2).* Notably, the collective experience of the CWG engendered a community spirit or 'communitas' (see 7.4.1), which transcended geographical boundaries:

*'Everybody from different countries, all shouting at the one time' (Emma, Wave 2).*

*'It was good to see everybody just like dead happy just in one place and celebrating the same thing' (Morag, Wave 2).*

*'Everybody welcomed everybody from different countries' (Manny, Wave 2).*

Secondly, just as young people were prompted to look outwards to a global world, they were also encouraged to look inwards to view their local neighbourhood with fresh eyes insofar as the presence of overseas visitors rendered the familiar unfamiliar to them and heightened their appreciation of their immediate urban surroundings:

*'I think it was just because it was in Glasgow, and everybody was dead...aw, this is where I stay. And a lot of people would come up to you and be like where's this place? Like, even asking for a park that you just used to grow up in' (Avril, Wave 2.)*

*'It was good to have a conversation with them. And they were saying positive stuff about Glasgow, like everybody's friendly. And usually we'd think 'Glasgow really?' 'are people friendly and stuff?', so it was good to see their aspect on it' (Morag, Wave 2).*

In this sense, the hosting was an opportunity to reconsider the negative external image of Glasgow and the East End (Kearns et al., 2013).

### 8.3.3 Glasgow City

The study data suggested that the city of Glasgow served as a positive role model for some young people. Although, in the first wave of fieldwork, there was some anxiety that Glasgow might '*crash and burn*' (Ben, Wave 1), the post-CWG consensus was that Glasgow had excelled in its execution of staging the event. In so doing, the city had modelled exemplary behaviour. This considerable feat did not go unnoticed. Morag reflected that Glasgow had



stepped into the spotlight and proved its worth: *'Cause I feel like sometimes people think we're overshadowed over the bigger.....London, cities like that...Edinburgh, but then it shows you Glasgow, it kinda makes you a bit more noticeable. Glasgow's always overshadowed'* (Morag, Wave 2). This quotation echoes Said's previous point about being inspired by the underdog. In a similar vein, Chris spoke about being emboldened by Glasgow's example to apply for more acting roles: *'People from Glasgow think they're not really....I don't know...I don't know what the word is..but they didn't have that much hope [before] but [now] they get more encouragement and confidence to do things, to do what they want'* (Wave 2).

To sum up this section, three 'active ingredients' in the form of athletes, visitors, and Glasgow City were found to be pertinent to the study outcome. These were found to operate according to different triggers, with athletes and Glasgow city providing behavioural exemplars for young people; while visitors drawn into the East End during the Games served simultaneously to raise consciousness of Scotland's place in the wider world and the intrinsic worth of their immediate urban surroundings. Having identified these inspirational sources, the following section investigates the impact on young people's aspirations.

## 8.4 From Inspiration to Aspiration

Aspirations, understood here to mean personal goals and expectations, proved a useful topic for discussion in the 1:1 interviews because they helped bring alive the abstract notion of horizons in young people's minds. Participants were asked to talk about their imagined futures at two pre-determined destination points in this study: one which focused on their post-16 choice; and the other when they would be 21 years old. While the former was imminent at Wave 1 and involved a narrow set of choices (entry into education, training, employment; or none of the aforementioned), the latter was more free-ranging and illuminating about personal identity ('who am I, and who do I want to be?') and personal trajectory ('how do I get there, and where will I be?'). It should be noted that this study did not set out to advance knowledge of the determinants of aspirations *per se*, but rather to identify the impact of the CWG in shaping aspirations.

### 8.4.1 Pupil Aspirations

A significant majority of the study sample had returned to school after the minimum school-leaving age, making staying on at school the norm from which a minority decided to 'opt out'. Young people characterised their decision in terms of rational decision-making, in that

the acquisition of additional qualifications was perceived to be personally beneficial in a competitive marketplace. That said, the evidence in this study indicated a commonly held perception that it would be premature and somehow ‘unnatural’ to do otherwise. In response to a question about perceived influences on their decision-making, Danny responded that he wanted to stay until the end of Sixth Year ‘*until all my school’s done*’; while Helen said that she decided in favour of continuing her education because ‘*I feel that I’m not done yet*’. Indeed, the quotations below suggest that leaving school at 16 would trigger an accelerated transition into adulthood, a notion too daunting for some to contemplate:

*‘Cause if they leave [school at 16], it feels they need to grow up quicker. I’d rather just focus on the now. Cause it’s so like scary and big and adult [to leave]’ (Lisa, Wave 1).*

*‘If I leave the now, I wouldn’t really know what to do with myself’ (Leona, Wave 2).*

Teachers were influential in the decision-making process, with some pupils suggesting that school staff expected them to leave school by exception only:

*‘You don’t need to tell them [teachers] if you’re staying on, I don’t think. You just need to let them know if you’re leaving’ (Leona, Wave 1).*

*‘We can leave school in Fourth Year but they tend to keep you on, if you don’t have anything going. Like if you leave fourth year, they want to know if you’ve got a college course’ (Chris, Wave 1).*

These statements affirm the protraction of post-compulsory education noted in the literature, with this change in educational participation accounted for by changing opportunity structures within both education and the labour market (Furlong, 2013). In this sense, the CWG had little influence to bring to bear on this decision. Notwithstanding, there is some evidence that the hosting was influential in one outlier case. At Wave 1, Morag had declared her intention to return to school for a Fifth Year; however, by Wave 2, her plans had altered significantly, a shift which she retrospectively attributed to the CWG (see 8.4.2).

Regarding longer term aspirations, a range of career aspirations was recorded at Wave 2 and cross-referenced to a standard occupational classification<sup>32</sup>. A small majority of young

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<sup>32</sup> The Standard Occupational Classification, first introduced in 1990, classifies jobs in terms of their skill level and content. The 2010 version includes 9 major groups, defined in terms of the general nature of the qualifications, training and experience associated with competent performance of tasks in the occupations classified within each major group.

people tended to select occupations from the top three major groups in this classification which required higher skill levels and skill specifications (Office for National Statistics, 2010), including medical doctor, dentist, optician, engineer, accountant, and actor. A few others sought clerical and administrative occupations (major group 4 in the hierarchy), while a sizeable minority remained undecided. These findings are in parallel with other empirical studies (Goodman and Gregg, 2010, Kintrea et al., 2011, Sinclair et al., 2010) and challenge current policy assumptions of low aspirations in disadvantaged communities.

Nonetheless, there was evidence of a downward shift in aspirations from Wave 1 to Wave 2, for example, from medical doctor to journalist; and from dentist to dental hygienist; or from Higher Education to Further Education. This concurs with the literature which finds a deterioration in expectations at this age, a downward trend which disadvantaged young people are especially vulnerable to (Goodman and Gregg, 2010, Gutman and Akerman, 2008). The recalibration of aspirations in this study was explained by one of two factors: either lower than expected educational attainment: *'Exam results, they weren't bad, but not what I was hoping kind of thing'* (Louise, Wave 2); or lower perceptions of self-efficacy: *'I'd still like to go straight to uni, but I'm just not sure, in case it'll be too difficult for me. I'd like to be able to. I'll just need to see how I find things at the time, and what the requirements are and stuff'* (Leona, Wave 2). In an atypical example, Gerry had changed his previous occupational goal of aeronautical engineer to chartered accountant, its equivalent in skill level and skill specialisation (Office for National Statistics, 2010), a decision based on newly-acquired knowledge about differential long-term salary prospects gained through a work placement organised by his school.

The patterning of aspirations indicated a social gradient. Those with the highest ambitions articulated specific personal goals and conveyed substantive information about the navigational pathways which would be involved in realising these. They were more likely to have any of the following attributes<sup>33</sup>; at least one parent or sibling in Higher Education; at least one parent employed; at least one parent not born in the East End; and themselves not born in the East End. At the other end of the social spectrum, young people tended to be more uncertain or vague about future directions. When asked about plans for the end of S4, responses typically portrayed a fatalistic world view. Michael declared that he was *'just going to wait and see'* (Wave 1). Similarly, when asked what would help her decide which

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<sup>33</sup> NVivo functionality allows for classification of cases according to researcher-selected demographical or behavioural labels. See Chapter 5 and Appendix 12.

path to take at this time, Avril replied that it was dependent on *'how I feel I think at the time'* (Wave 1). In the same way, responses about imagined lives at 21 years elicited generic or unrealistic responses. Kieran said that he would like *'to be in a good job and have my own house and my own car and just be making my own wage and all that'* (Wave 1); while Dionne aspired to be *'in a good job, earning a good bit of money, and have a house'* (Wave 1). The attributes most associated with this group were: born in the East End; parents unemployed; no parent or sibling in Higher Education; and not a member of a sport or cultural club. Without the insulation of social or cultural capital, prospects for these young people are likely to be more precarious (Standing, 2011). Regrettably, since this group accounted for the lion's share of the sample attrition, no data exist which might provide a longitudinal perspective on their aspirations.

Interestingly, a middle group showed potential for upward social mobility, testifying to the success of schools in expanding horizons. These young people enjoyed parental support for their aspirations, involving, in one case, financial investment in private tuition to improve academic performance. The prospect of being the first in the family to enter Higher Education was a key motivator for some young people in this group:

*'Well, my mum and that would really like be so proud of me if I'd be able to get to university and things, and she always says just stick down, get your head down and work, work, work, and study. If you study and you work hard in class, then you're going to get where you want to go' (Caitlin, Wave 1)*

*'I'm the first in my whole family to go to university. Both my cousins went to college' (Lisa, Wave 1).*

Some talked about their parents expecting them to have a better job than they themselves had. Emma recalled a recent conversation with her mother: *'Mum says that I don't want you to end up ....like my mum works in a café, she's a waitress ..I don't want you to end up with a job like me'* (Wave 1). Similarly, the parental guidance provided to Avril was that she should not do *'something daft'* (Wave 1). When asked in the interview to explain what her parents meant by that, Avril replied: *'Like working in a kitchen or something. They want to see me working as something better to earn good money and that. They want to see me living good in life. Because she [my mother] says that I could do better'* (Wave 1). The finding that parental expectations for their children's post-16 destinations and Higher Education are associated with high aspirations is supported in the literature (Goodman and Gregg, 2010).

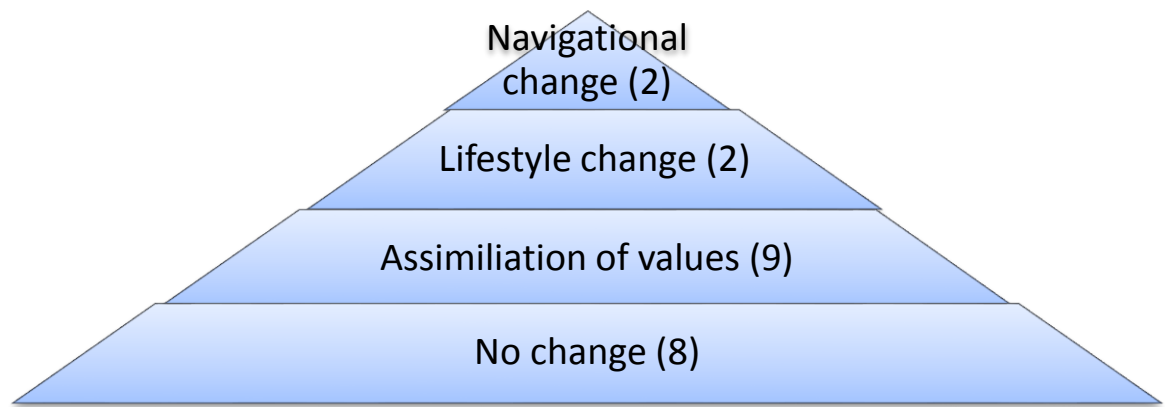
However, the ‘demise of certainty’ identified by Cebulla and Tomaszewski (2013) over recent decades makes this middle group particularly vulnerable to future disappointment. Kintrea et al. (2011), in their comparative study of young people living in three UK disadvantaged areas, found that aspirations were higher than the outcomes which the labour market could realistically deliver. The problem is exacerbated by the dominant perception that individuals tend to perceive failure as the result of personal shortcomings (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2001). The impact of broken dreams on personal identity and mental wellbeing in adulthood is well documented in the literature (Cebulla and Tomaszewski, 2013, Levinson, 1978).

In summing up, no evidence was available at face value to support the claim that the CWG had significantly influenced immediate or longer term goals and plans in the vast majority of cases. However, a closer examination is warranted of broader aspirational changes that might be attributed to the inspiration of the CWG.

#### **8.4.2 Attribution to the CWG**

Caution was required by the researcher in attributing changes to the CWG, especially at such a formative period in young people’s lives and given the presence of other contextual influences on the outcome of expanded horizons. To help isolate a possible CWG effect, the same opening question (‘to what extent do you think that the CWG has shaped your future plans?’) was asked of every young person in the 1:1 interviews at Wave 2. Participant responses revealed four main categories of change attributable to the CWG, entailing any one of the following: an unambiguous change in future direction; less dramatically, a change in lifestyle behaviour; on a more subliminal level, the assimilation of values; and finally absence of inspirational impact. These are visually represented in Figure 8.1. Although the sample was not statistically representative, the numbers in each category (shown in brackets) are noteworthy because they convey the distribution of impact. Accordingly, the few young people falling into the first two categories might be regarded as exceptional, deviant or atypical; whereas, with the vast majority of young people falling into the last two categories, the personal impact is more likely to be either of a more indirect and intangible nature, or simply non-existent.

Pen portraits are used in this final section to convey the range and diversity of individual responses to the CWG hosting and are categorised according to one of the above four types of inspirational impact.



**Figure 8.1**      **Type of Inspirational Impact**

#### **8.4.2.1 Inspirational impact: directional or navigational change**

As there were only two cases in this category, pen portraits for each are provided. In keeping with his *modus operandi* (*‘every opportunity that I get, I take’*, *Wave 1*), **Calum** engaged himself fully with the CWG school-based programme. A regular sports participant and a member of a city-wide sports club, he was also one of seven Sports Ambassadors in School A, for which he volunteered several years ago for personal development reasons. Through the PE Department, he became involved in a national schools programme which brought him into contact with other Sports Ambassadors. He brought back his learning and skills from this programme where he and his fellow ambassadors worked with staff to build sporting capacity and increase sporting opportunities in the school. He was also selected for involvement in the production of a BBC film and to officiate at the school’s Commonwealth showcase evening<sup>34</sup>. Notwithstanding his engagement with the school’s programme, Calum had no prior plans for participation in the Games event itself. However, a friend introduced him to Active East<sup>35</sup>, through which programme he secured tickets for the Opening Ceremony, attended multiple live sporting events, and was at the heart of the Games experience as one of the volunteer performers in the Closing Ceremony. This experience afforded him a measure of social distinction at that time:

*‘I was walking past the Athletes’ Village, and you know how the people in the Closing Ceremony and the Opening Ceremony had the lanyards and the ID on, so I was walking past and cause I was on the side of the Athletes’ Village,*

<sup>34</sup> The GoS Scotland programme in School A culminated in the staging of a Commonwealth Celebration Evening on 3 April 2014 to showcase school project work from across the wider Learning Community and to launch a UNICEF charity single. The free event was attended by pupils, parents, staff members, and the researcher.

<sup>35</sup> Active East is a legacy programme targeted at young people in the East End of Glasgow which aims to increase physical activity and build skills through volunteering. <http://www.active-east.co.uk/Pages/default.aspx> (accessed 3 Aug 2015).

*everyone was stopping me and getting photos with me, cause they thought I was an athlete! And I was heavy chuffed with myself, I was just standing there getting photos and they didn't even know me' (Wave 2).*

By his own account, the CWG was an 'experience of a life time'. As such, it represented a defining moment for him in terms of providing opportunities for personal development; meeting new people; going new places; having new experiences; and, most significant of all, altering his future aspirations. The following exchange makes explicit the inspiration for pursuing his most recent occupational aspiration to become a sports broadcaster (in Wave 1, he had talked about wishing to become a medical doctor and the challenge of satisfying this ambition with his current subject choice):

*'And who or what inspired you to go down that route [to become a sports broadcaster]?'*

*'Probably the Games. The Games probably, cause I was always watching the coverages of the Games. I would just be sitting there and thinking it would be quite cool to sit there one day' (Wave 2).*

Moreover, he was confident that his participation in the CWG would afford him competitive advantage when applying for his university course of choice: *'There's only 20 spaces for that, and there's quite a lot of people that go for it, but I'm hoping with everything that I've done, and what I'm doing now, and what I'm going to be doing in the future, that I'll be well placed' (Wave 2).* He considered his involvement in the Closing Ceremony to be personally advantageous in his university application: *'I can put that on my personal statement, it will make me seem a more interesting person, so that has helped me' (Wave 2).* In short, the CWG has inspired Calum to think differently about his future and helped him to potentially gain competitive advantage.

From the outset, it was clear that **Morag's** spatial horizons were atypical. She readily acknowledged that travelling extensively with her family from an early age had been the most influential factor regarding her future aspirations:

*'Because I've saw so much culture, I would really like to travel the world to see more culture. I have travelled like all over America and that side, but I would like to go to Japan and Australia and stuff and places like that. I'd really love to go to Africa and stuff and climb Mount Everest' (Wave 1).*

Morag, a keen drama student, was selected by School A to take part in the BBC film welcoming people from other Commonwealth countries to Glasgow. This involvement

meant that she was relatively well informed about the CWG and understood its broader appeal beyond sport. It also gave her a better appreciation of her own urban landscape and national culture, affording her a glimpse of a '*bigger picture*'. She claimed that being selected from amongst her peers was a boost to her self-confidence.

Her participation during the CWG event was that of 'active consumer' (see Chapter 7). Her mother had applied for event tickets through the ballot process but had been unsuccessful. She managed to acquire free tickets through the school at the last minute but it turned out that she had misunderstood the start time and missed the event. Nevertheless, she watched the Opening and Closing Ceremonies on TV and went to several un-ticketed sporting events in her locality. Although she went to the live site at Glasgow Green and walked around the Merchant City to immerse herself in the atmosphere, she regretted not seeing a '*proper performance*'.

Her response to questioning about the general impact of the CWG was initially downbeat: *'I think people just basically think about it as in the past because it's happened so long ago and that, but I don't think anything's really changed. Maybe it's got a lot of people more interested in different sports and that, but nothing much really, I wouldn't say'* (Wave 2). Notwithstanding, further discussion indicated that the CWG had impacted on her immediate future plans. When first interviewed, she declared her intention to extend her secondary education; however, by the time of the second interview, she had already left school and found employment in order to fund her ambition to travel. The exchange below indicates that the Games might have inspired her to take decisive action in order to pursue her dreams earlier than previously anticipated:

*I'm interested to know if there was anything or anybody in the CWG that you would think was inspirational for you, or has made an impact on you, or has inspired you.*

*'I think it [the CWG] made a lot of impact on me to...kind of belief or stuff or that. You can dream...believe you can get out of here (..). As I say, you usually think, Scotland, you're going to be stuck here and stuff like that. But when you see Chris Hoy and see Scottish people who have just basically started in the same situation as you, a kid at school and that, and then became this big person, then you believe about that. You usually say, you're never going to do that, because you always self-doubt yourself. It makes you believe in yourself a wee bit more to get ambition. It makes you a bit more ambitious, I would say'.*

*That's what this research is all about it...does it change people's ambitions..*



*'I think it's changed my ambition quite a lot. It made me think, this can actually happen. Cause usually, you think, ach, I'm just from Scotland, I'm just from Glasgow'*

*With the emphasis being on 'I'm JUST from Glasgow, I'm JUST from Scotland?'*

*'Aye. It made you think...it gave you a different..I AM from Glasgow, I CAN do this' (Wave 2).*

These statements underscore the influence of the CWG in providing the impetus for Morag to initiate her plans for independent travel.

#### **8.4.2.2 Inspirational impact: lifestyle change**

Before the Games, the stance adopted by **Said** towards the CWG was undoubtedly the most negative in the sample, with his characterisation of the hosting as a 'con' and 'vanity project' and his criticism of using a sports event to generate social change: *'You invest so much money into something that's supposed to transcend sport, and yet it doesn't remotely'* (Wave 1). He had no involvement in the schools-based programme and attributed his lack of planned engagement to the fact that it was a sporting event which held no interest for a non-participant such as himself. However, his perception of the CWG changed fundamentally during the event itself. This came about because he attended a live sporting event (his aunt had bought last minute tickets) which allowed him to participate in the festival atmosphere:

*'I'm a real convert. It was good. The town was alive with people, it was great, it was quite busy, there were many tourists, so there was quite a carnival atmosphere, do you know what I mean? There was just so many people and there was kinda things happening in the streets which was great. There was like all the food market thing they opened round about Trongate, there was music' (Wave 2).*

He admitted to being inspired to become more physically active and had even managed to lose weight: *'I've started going to the gym more now because it [the CWG] was quite inspirational'* (Wave 2). He cited his source of inspiration as the triathletes that he saw on TV: *'You see the triathlon? My god, it's just brutal, and I was thinking, my god, if they can do it, then surely I can go on the treadmill for 10 minutes or something (laughs), so that'* (Wave 2). His example supports the view in the literature of a 'festival effect' (Weed et al., 2009). In Said's case, the inspirational impact was not limited to behavioural change in that he considered the qualities exhibited by the athletes to have a broader inspirational resonance for him personally: *'The values, you know, you can kinda carry that through to school, through your exams, you know, hard work, determination, you can do that, you know'* (Wave

2). That said, he was clear that the CWG did not have any influence in shaping his ambition to become an engineer:

*What has been the main factor that's shaped your thinking over the past year?*

*'Not so much. Not like relevant to the CWG. I went to a really good Open Day at Strathclyde Uni, Engineering department. That was great. That really kinda affirmed my idea of going to the engineering, but nothing so much relevant or pertaining to the CWG' (Wave 2).*

When **Avril** was younger, she showed promise as a competitive runner but gave it up during her early teenage years. At Wave 1, Avril possessed scant information about the CWG. She was also unaware of school programmes although did recall visiting the Emirates Arena for the school sports day. Although she had the opportunity to attend the Opening Ceremony through her father's workplace, she turned down the invitation because she was too 'busy'. During the rest of the Games, she largely went about her normal routine. At Wave 1, Avril's intention was to leave school and get a job or go to a local college (for 2 years). By Wave 2, she had indeed left school and had started college. At the same time, she was also applying for jobs in local travel agents and was undecided about whether or not she would continue in college. The CWG had no influence in this respect.

Nonetheless, post-Games, she talked about being inspired by the athletes to start going to the gym: *'Because I'm looking at all the girls and women and stuff and I'm seeing how fit they look and stuff. But now I walk more often instead of getting taxis and that. Maybe I walk from my house to my gran's, so it just keeps me going' (Wave 2).* She said that she regretted not maintaining her running regime as a teenager and determined that her young cousin would not make the same mistake:

*'Well, when I was watching it, I seen..it was a young girl in it, and she was a runner, and she was for Britain, and says she was not well the night before she was running. But she just wanted to make Britain proud, she just wanted to do it, and she ended up coming up second I think maybe. And I was like disappointed in myself because I could have been there. It's just made me... like my wee cousin or that, if they want to do it, I would tell them to stick in with it' (Wave 2).*

Her example supports the view in the literature of a 'demonstration effect' (Weed et al., 2009), which suggests that sporting events might contribute to increasing the frequency of participation in sport of existing participants or, as in this case, the rekindling of interest in lapsed sport participants.

### 8.4.2.3 Inspiration impact: *assimilation of values*

This category comprised a sizeable minority of young people. It was a mixed group, including participants and non-participants of sport; active as well as passive consumers of the CWG. For some, especially sports participants, the CWG effect was evident in affirming an existing set of values. For example, Gerry, an elite sportsperson, referred to the sport-related attributes which informed his *modus operandi*: *'Like the discipline and the determination. Stuff like I make all the training programmes and that, and at the start of the year I set my goals for the year. I think stuff like that, having a goal-orientated approach'* (Wave 2). For others, such as Caitlin (see below), it was more akin to assimilation for the first time, rather than a re-affirmation, of values. In this instance, the evidence was weaker because the inspirational impact was not top-of-mind, having emerged only during discussion between the researcher and the participant. That said, the researcher was careful to validate her interpretation whenever possible during interviews.

**Caitlin** remained positive towards the Games in Waves 1 and 2 and considered the hosting to be a *'big deal'* for Glasgow, especially for its reputation. At Wave 1, she had little information about the Games and was not aware of anything happening within school or in her dance club. Her mum had applied for tickets but had been unsuccessful. Caitlin herself applied for free tickets at school at the end of the summer term but she too was unsuccessful. During Games Time, she did not attend a ticketed or non-ticketed event (she was unaware of latter) but watched some event highlights on TV, including the medals ceremonies. She was also unaware that there was anything happening at Glasgow Green. She admitted that it was *'a bit murder'* and *'a bit brutal'* getting around town with all the people there, but she liked the positive happy atmosphere, especially the way that people would readily speak to each other on the bus, something that would not normally happen. She was sad when it came to an end, but resigned herself to the fact that *'it was 'good while it lasted'*. There was no evidence of any change in her social networks or indication that she was inspired to take up new interests.

Nevertheless, the athletes' stories had some resonance for her personal situation. Caitlin aspired to be the first in her family to enter Higher Education. At Wave 1, she had defined her career aspiration to become a dentist and had started moving along the pathway towards realising her ambition, having reviewed her subject choices, completed work experience, and decided to enrol on the Duke of Edinburgh Award in S5. Nevertheless, by Wave 2, she had abandoned her aspirational preference due to a disappointing attainment in Chemistry.

This had obliged her to revise her sights downwards to a career choice as a dental hygienist. She talked about the need to apply herself harder to her studies and her parents' decision to fund private tuition to support her. Given her own recent personal setback, she could easily relate to the athletes' accounts of striving hard to achieve their goals and having to overcome challenges along the way: *'Just because when you see them all training and things like that, you just know how hard they've actually worked to get there. So, if you work that hard, you could do it as well'* (Wave 2). Her observation of the athletes performing at the CWG reinforced the view that she could still achieve something worthwhile; it might also have helped her to develop an attitudinal disposition which she did not have, or did not require, previously.

#### **8.4.2.4 No inspirational impact**

None of the participants in this category were sport participants, and the vast majority of them had not engaged with GoS, nor with the event itself. The few who had attended events believed that participation at this level was not sufficient to trigger an inspiration impact. Louise contrasted her 'active consumption' to the 'active participation' of her older sister, reflecting on the resultant differential in outcome:

*'cause as much as I was involved, I wasn't you know involved. Like my sister, for example, like I said, she had an internship. She ..that's the sort of one off kinda thing, cause you don't really...cause it's such a big deal and she was involved so I know for her it was a big deal, cause she had met all these people, and she had enjoyed it, So for her, people like that, it was...she was more involved' (Wave 2).*

**Ben** was unaware of any school-based programme other than the school sports day (which he missed because he was on holiday) and the Schools' Baton Relay. He said that he did not have the opportunity to take part and felt that schools could have done more to tell people about the opportunities. His account of Games time was that of a bystander looking on from the outside. Post-Games, he believed that people were no longer talking about the Games, and there was no physical evidence that it had happened. It had made no personal impact on him beyond the memory of it, something to tell his children in the distant future. In his view, the Games were already confined to history. In terms of aspirations, his dream was to move to America to become a movie actor. At Wave 1, his aspirations seemed idealistic, almost fantastical, although he also had a more realistic Plan B to work in Accountancy or in Business. However, disappointing examination results in Mathematics meant that he had to

drop his Plan B. He still wanted to do drama however, but college, rather than university, was now regarded as his pathway towards entry into the creative industries.

## 8.5 Chapter Summary

The data indicated a close alignment between educational policy and the CWG in relation to the outcome of expanded horizons. Rather than being seen as a distraction, the event hosting was embraced by key informants in terms of bringing more opportunities and resources under a single thematic banner. This study found that much was happening pre-Games in the two schools which related to the outcome of interest in this study. Indeed, there were several indicators of ‘success’ such as the normalisation of educational participation beyond the compulsory school age; and the contemplation of participation in tertiary education among a larger cohort of young people.

Against this background, the ‘added value’ of the CWG was found to reside in three inspirational sources, unique to the hosting of the event. In order of significance, these were elite athletes competing in the CWG; visitors to the East End; and Glasgow City itself. The data indicated different types of response. At the highest impact levels, a very small number had directly attributed the alteration of personal goals or health-related behaviour to the CWG. The data indicated that the key factors which determined for whom this mechanism ‘worked’ were engagement in the school-based programme; active participation in the event itself; and/or being a continuing or lapsed sports participant. Beyond this, an inspirational impact was more difficult to ascertain. The data certainly indicated residual impact for some young people whereby values and attributes embodied in the competing athletes’ stories were either reaffirmed or assimilated for the first time. However, for a good many others, there was no evidence that the CWG had exerted any inspirational effect at all.

## Chapter 9 Epilogue

### 9.1 Chapter Overview

The current investigation is situated within the vanguard of research aiming to scrutinise legacy impacts from recent iterations of sporting mega events which have purposefully positioned legacy ambitions at the heart of their hosting bids. Legacy is a highly contested and controversial topic, not least because of the tensions inherent in its conceptualisation: between the overly positive rhetoric in policy discourse and the absence of evidence supporting legacy realisation; and between the transiency of the spectacle and the durability of its impact.

This chapter marks a change of vantage point, conceptually and temporally. At the outset, the lack of supportive evidence necessitated the development of an interim ‘theory of change’ model. Whereas the preceding three chapters examined the conjectured mechanisms individually, this concluding chapter brings them together into a coherent whole so that a more holistic understanding of Glasgow 2014 might be gained. Moreover, the writing of this conclusion coincides with the first anniversary of the event, an important milestone prompting further reflection by the researcher on its overall significance. Structurally, the chapter falls into two main parts. The first part sums up the main conclusions arising from this study, with reference to the original research questions and cross-cutting themes. It also considers the study’s strengths and limitations. The second part zooms out to identify the wider implications of the study findings for policy and academic research and to consider anew the appropriateness of the phrase ‘The Show that Never Ends’ to the social phenomenon of sporting mega events.

### 9.2 Summary of Main Findings

#### 9.2.1 Addressing the Study’s Research Questions

The findings are summarised below as they relate to each of the four research questions which informed this study:

Research Question 1: What meanings and significance do young people, individually and collectively, attach to the hosting of the CWG in their local area?

Positive attitudes towards the hosting of an event are universally regarded in the literature as essential for securing positive social outcomes (Brown and Massey, 2001, Weed et al., 2009). This prerequisite was satisfied among the young people in this study, with the vast majority of them perceiving the hosting of the CWG as a proud and defining moment in their city's history. London 2012 and Glasgow 2014 were closely associated in young people's minds, with recent memories of the former serving to bestow meaning and significance on the latter, not least because of its universally-acknowledged prestige and status. Moreover, the mediated construction of Glasgow 2014 as a 'big thing' ('once-in-a-lifetime opportunity; large scale; global reach) was influential in shaping positive attitudes. Indeed, the striking homogeneity of participant response was attributed by the researcher to the osmotic 'drip feed' of legacy messaging since Glasgow won the bid to host the 2014 CWG. One might argue that the jubilation at that time was characteristically overplayed. Following Halifax (Canada)'s last minute withdrawal from the race, Glasgow found itself in a two-man race against Abuja (Nigeria), whose candidature had raised material concerns in a recent official evaluation (CGF, 2007). At Wave 2, young people's positive attitudes were consolidated by awareness of the universal praise heaped upon Glasgow for its staging of a 'stand out' event. Participants concerned at Wave 1 that trouble might erupt during Games time expressed their relief that their worst fears had not in fact been realised.

The individual responses of young people were more heterogeneous and less 'tidy', with evidence of a notable shift between waves of fieldwork, as what was a largely abstract and general discussion about the forthcoming CWG changed into more concrete and detailed personal accounts of the event. The nature of their responses was determined by the method of data collection, with in depth interviews eliciting largely favourable responses and focus groups more negative ones. Overall, the feelings of young people towards the hosting of Glasgow might be best characterised as qualified approval, this in contrast to the universally positive views held by key informants. In the main, young people's positive responses were explained in terms of spatial proximity to the staging of Glasgow 2014 and to the mediated construction of the event as a fateful moment in the city's history; while negative responses were elicited in response to perceptions of misplaced priorities by city leaders; to the prevalence of rhetoric and hyperbole in public-facing materials; and to executional aspects of the event itself. Those most favourably disposed towards the hosting of the event were regular sports participants; those not born in the East End; and existing sports club members.

According to young people's accounts, the dominant legacy benefit was improved image for Glasgow and the East End. These two spatial entities were indistinguishable, with many

young people feeling that the East End was the scapegoat for all of the social ills associated with Glasgow. A collective easing of the ‘burden’ of negative reputation was a recurrent theme insofar as young people hoped that the East End might henceforth be more justly represented to the outside world after the Games. This finding suggests that the significance of the CWG hosting resides in its extrinsic value, in terms of improved community and personal self-worth, rather than the intrinsic value of staging a sporting event. In this regard, one young person raised an important caveat: that, although the East End’s social positioning might have been enhanced in *absolute* terms as a direct result of the CWG hosting, its *relative* social positioning in a city-wide context remained essentially unaltered.

When asked about beneficiaries of the hosting, young people themselves did not identify ‘losers’, although several groups were mentioned, for whom it was perceived that the Games might hold less interest. These included people disinterested in sport; older people; host residents not living in close proximity to the CWG venues; and the most socially disadvantaged in their neighbourhood who struggled to meet the basic necessities of life. By contrast, primary beneficiaries were perceived by young people to be those with vested business interests e.g. retailers, restaurateurs, hoteliers, as well as the SG and GCC. A few anticipated a ‘trickle down’ effect relating to employment or improved housing for local people.

Area-based impacts eclipsed personal benefits, with discussion around the latter being relatively muted. That said, instances of personal dividends for certain groups were identified, including: access to world class facilities for competitive sports participants; higher property price values for home owners; and temporary internship, employment or volunteering opportunities for a small minority of young people and their families. More generally, and irrespective of their engagement with the CWG (summarised below), many spoke about the acquisition of a personal narrative or memory. While the impact of the latter on young people’s horizons was not apparent in this study, empirical findings from research undertaken with young people in the run-up to London 2012 (Kohe, 2015) theorised the potential for a social capital effect, in terms of framing personal identity and forming social narratives which bind individuals, groups, and communities to each other and their particular contexts.

Research Question 2: What are the main underlying mechanisms or critical pathways which might provide opportunities or barriers, directly or indirectly, for young people to expand



their social networks and to encourage young people to undertake activities or seek opportunities beyond their usual spatial boundaries?

At the outset of this study, Glasgow 2014 was constructed as a social intervention with both complicated and complex aspects (Rogers, 2008), requiring the development of a LM to serve as a navigational tool (Chapter 4). This was particularly pertinent to a prospective study of legacy impact, given the characterisation in the literature of its pursuit as a leap of faith. An ‘ideal world’ LM hypothesised that the activation of four mechanisms, identified from official legacy documents and informed by social theory, would result in expanded horizons for young people by virtue of broadening their social networks, extending their spatial boundaries, and altering their mind set. A ‘worst case scenario’ model was also developed to foster thinking around the theoretical possibility of unintended consequences. These models reflected the research focus on activation processes and contextual influences.

**‘Place Transformation’** turned out to be the most salient mechanism in young people’s accounts. There are several reasons which might explain its dominance: firstly, it is the most tangible and visible mechanism, making it a relatively straightforward topic for discussion; and secondly, the regeneration catalysed by the hosting of the Games was regarded by study participants as having been long overdue. Physical changes in the area were generally viewed in a positive light and were directly attributable to Glasgow 2014. Yet the study data indicated that the new world class sporting facilities, which represented a significant component of event-related infrastructure, were used in the main by existing sports participants; and the improved transport infrastructure had not resulted in changes in young people’s spatial behaviour at this particular stage in their lives. Rather, the value of this mechanism resided more in the fact that landmark attractions such as the Velodrome would henceforth attract outsiders into the East End, enabling them to acquire direct knowledge of the neighbourhoods in preference to mediated representations which consistently foregrounded its negative aspects e.g. benefits dependency; substance misuse; gang activity; and serious crime. The most significant outcome of place transformation for young people was increased local pride, a finding which echoes that of the HIA undertaken among residents by GCC (McCartney et al., 2010a).

**Education & Learning** was both a mechanism and a medium for Glasgow 2014. The two schools in this study, under the aegis of the national educational programme *Game on Scotland*, represented the primary conduit for Glasgow 2014 in the months leading up to event, with little evidence of leveraging initiatives undertaken by local sports and cultural

clubs. Local athletics and swimming clubs appeared to be the exception as these sports featured in the event itself, although the data suggested that their CWG involvement was at a competitive rather than grassroots or recreational level. Schools were an important contextual influence on pupil engagement with the CWG in accordance with pupil compliance with the educational system generally (school attendance; pupil behaviour); and individual school engagement with the CWG (strategic versus tactical; propagation versus dissemination of CWG-related information). The main finding here was that this mechanism ‘worked’ for an exclusive minority of pupils who were already ambassadorial figures within their school community.

The mechanism considered most important in relation to the outcome of interest was **Engagement & Participation** (see Research Question 3). The proximity of the CWG staging and its incursion into the daily lives of young people meant that all research participants were obliged, consciously or unconsciously, to take a behavioural stance towards the event. Active engagement with the Games provided social and spatial benefits, but was limited to a sizeable minority of young people. The non-distribution of tickets to local residents was remarked upon several times. By all accounts, the duration of the CWG was an extra-ordinary time, with routines suspended, spatial constraints erased, and social distinctions removed, resulting in a ‘feel good’ atmosphere which none had anticipated or expected. Notwithstanding, the consensus amongst young people was that normal business had resumed post-event.

**Inspiration** was the most challenging pathway in terms of detection and attribution. At Wave 1, it appeared to be latent due to the absence of an emotional connection between young people and the CWG. Sports participants were the exception insofar as they were looking forward to watching their sporting heroes at close range. At Wave 2, this situation had altered significantly because all participants were able to draw upon their own lived experiences of Glasgow 2014. Their responses to specific questions about the extent to which they had been inspired by the CWG revealed that competing athletes, visitors to the East End, and Glasgow City were important sources. These were found to operate according to different triggers, with athletes and Glasgow city providing behavioural exemplars for young people; while visitors drawn into the East End during the Games served simultaneously to raise consciousness of Scotland’s place in the wider world and the intrinsic worth of their immediate urban surroundings. Although civic pride was an expected outcome (Glasgow Centre for Population Health, 2008) and featured in discussions around place transformation, the personification of Glasgow as a role model for young people was not

anticipated when developing the LM. Young people regarded the city's behaviour as worthy of emulation, in terms of modelling hard work, determination, and resilience. Its achievement was particularly praiseworthy because of its perceived 'underdog' positioning. This is the first study to find that aspects of sporting performance and athletes' stories were used by some young people as inspiration for non-sporting goals and supportive behaviours.

Research Question 3: To what extent have young people engaged with the various cultural and sporting initiatives leading up to the CWG, and including the event itself? What are the main contextual influences which might account for their different levels of engagement?

Paradoxically, support for the hosting of the CWG at Wave 1 did not translate into stated intentions to engage with the various cultural and sporting activities leading up to the CWG, including the event itself. Pre-Games, there was evidence of a gradient of planned engagement in line with sport participation, with competitive/elite performers being most likely to articulate a desire to acquire tickets for a live sporting performance and to have concrete plans. As noted above, schools represented the main contextual influence before the event itself via *GoS*. The two schools in this study exhibited different levels of engagement with the CWG, with School A taking a proactive, strategic and cross-curricular approach; and School B being reactive and tactical with a PE curricular focus. School-based programmes raised awareness of Glasgow 2014 amongst young people generally. However, actual involvement in the school programme was limited to those few research participants, who had already distinguished themselves within their respective schools in relation to sport or the expressive arts. By their own accounts, participation in the school programme had increased their self-confidence, broadened their horizons and provided an opportunity for the development of new skills, including leadership, communication, project management, and working with both peers and teachers.

During the event, there was evidence of a spectrum of individual engagement, ranging from active participation, through to active and passive consumption, to non-participation, with the level determining likely impact on social and spatial horizons. The most engaged tended to be those who had both the motivation and the means to do so. They were able to 'read' the opportunities available to them through the hosting of Glasgow 2014 and had existing social, cultural and economic capital at their disposal to take advantage of these same opportunities.

Research Question 4: What are the perceived legacy impacts on young people's horizons, and how are these articulated with regard to their identity; their sense of belonging; their future aspirations and expectations?

This line of inquiry turned its attention to the future orientation of young people, in terms of changes in their social and spatial aspirations, regarded as key indicators of altered horizons. Generally speaking, empirically-observed changes in aspirations could not be attributed to Glasgow 2014. That said, a few attributed recent decisions made by them to the CWG: to pursue a new occupational ambition; to change the timing of their (pre-existing) plan to travel; or to increase their physical activity levels. Various contextual influences were highlighted by the researcher to account for these changes, namely prior engagement in *GoS*, active participation in the event, or being a (lapsed) sports participant. More broadly, on a subliminal level, there was some evidence of an inculcation of the attributes most valued within the current educational paradigm, namely hard work and determination; resilience to overcome ad hoc challenges; and ambition to achieve their personal best, all of which were exemplified by competing athletes and Glasgow City.

The dialectic of 'dwelling' and 'journey' provided insight into young people's identification with the East End and the impact of place attachment on future spatial horizons. The study found that those from migrant families aspired to continue their upward social mobility by leaving the East End. The situation with those born in the East End was more complex. A sizeable minority declared their intention to 'escape', as they put it, from the East End to live in a place which they felt would be more compatible with their sense of self and represent a better social and physical environment in which to raise a family. Another group worked from the belief that moving out of the East End would enhance their life chances although they were conflicted about leaving behind close-knit familial networks and places familiar to them. For a third group exhibiting a strong attachment to place, a future life outside the East End was beyond contemplation. This was not necessarily a default position - in one notable example, the decision made by one boy to remain close to his East End roots appeared to be an entirely rational and positive one.

### **9.2.2 Cross-cutting Themes**

Several recurrent themes warrant especial mention, which, taken together, leave policymakers and city leaders vulnerable to the accusation of delivering a short-term spectacle at the expense of positive and enduring social change.

### **9.2.2.1 ‘Not for our sake’**

There was a dominant view amongst young people that physical changes had been made in the interests of others (athletes, tourists, spectators, global TV audiences, investors, corporations), rather than for their sake. In their view, this had given rise to ‘distorting’ influences in terms of location (remedial work undertaken in vicinity of venues and arterial routes into East End); and timing (insofar as it required a sporting event rather than unmet social needs to initiate regeneration). By the same token, the construction of a niche sporting facility in a locale which had suffered social and physical degradation over many years seemed incongruous to many young people. All young people readily distinguished between the physical and social dimensions of place, with a consensus that physical changes brought about by the CWG had not been matched by social changes. Indeed, the data indicated low expectations of social transformation amongst young people on the basis that community norms such as territoriality were enduring and resistant to change.

### **9.2.2.2 ‘Not for everyone’**

The study testified to a social stratification within the East End which pre-dated Glasgow 2014, therewith problematising the tendency for policymakers and researchers to lump people together in disadvantaged areas as a homogenous group (McCartney, 2012). Accordingly, legacy benefits accrued to the already relatively advantaged, with some young people in the sample being better positioned than others to grasp CWG-related opportunities. Writing about ‘field’ changes, Bourdieu (1996) argues that ‘in a general manner, it is people who are richest in economic capital, cultural capital and social capital who are the first to head for new positions’ (p.125). The CWG might have had the unintended consequence of accentuating existing social inequalities. In other words, those who might have gained most from the CWG were the least likely to have engaged with it, suggesting that the hosting might be more accurately characterised as a once in a lifetime ‘missed’ opportunity for disadvantaged young people in the East End.

### **9.2.2.3 ‘Not for real’**

Remarks made by some participants suggested an absence of authenticity, with several factors striking a false note in young people’s minds. In the first instance, the media representation of Glasgow, and, by implication the East End, meant that young people were unable to recognise the lived reality of their place of residence. Similarly, the bonhomie shown by police officers in their casual encounters with two boys during Games time was

described by them as *'fake'*. Finally, young people witnessed at first hand the implementation of cosmetic changes prior to the Games, which were not expected to last beyond the event itself.

#### **9.2.2.4 *'Not for ever'***

The consensus amongst young people in this study was that Glasgow 2014 was an ephemeral experience. The transitory nature of the hosting occasion was underlined by the compelling metaphors used by several participants of a deflating balloon and effervescent chemical reaction. There was general agreement that normal life had swiftly resumed post-event.

### **9.3 Study Strengths and Limitations**

The study's main strength is the attention given to the social dimension of legacy which has been largely ignored in the legacy literature (Kemlo and Owe, 2014, Kornblatt, 2006, McCartney, 2010, Smith, 2009). Its 'bottom up' approach was instrumental in privileging the interests of people 'on the ground' over those of city-wide and national stakeholders, perceived by many young people in this study to be the main beneficiaries of hosting the CWG.

Furthermore, the qualitative strategy facilitated the gathering of situated and contextualised accounts of young people's Glasgow 2014 experiences; while the selection of a range of data collection methods (pupil interviews, pupil focus groups, key informant interviews) enabled their social reality to be explored relationally from numerous contextual perspectives. These served to highlight the range and interpenetration of different influences, operating at different levels, including 'macro' (educational policy, structural factors such as social class and poverty); 'meso' (young people's social networks, school ethos, community norms and expectations); and 'micro' (individual attitudes, past and present experiences, familial background). The insight gained thereby into the complexity, diversity and heterogeneity of subjective views serves as a much-needed counterpoint to the notion of universal and homogenous good inherent in the prevailing legacy discourse (Dixon and Gibbons, 2014, Hiller and Wanner, 2011, Preuss, 2015, Silk, 2011).

A further strength is the breadth of scope in the study. In the legacy literature, the few qualitative studies involving young people have focused on increased participation in physical activity and sport (Kohe, 2015, Such, 2013), or have restricted their investigation to the most excluded or marginalised groups (Kennelly and Watt, 2011). The sample

recruited to the study was not intended to be statistically representative, but it was sufficiently broad (and stable due to a low attrition level) to capture a wide range of different experiences, permitting a degree of sample stratification to enhance explanatory capability. At the same time, the breadth of representation achieved meant that the voices of ‘ordinary’ young people (Roberts, 2011, Roberts and MacDonald, 2013, Woodman, 2013) were also heard. Hindsight confirmed that schools were the optimum means to achieve this broad representation, especially since the empirical evidence in this study indicated that youth clubs were no longer considered by research participants as relevant to their age group.

The breadth of scope was both a strength and a weakness. Time constraints, compounded by the school day being divided into subject periods of 40-60 minutes’ duration, meant that discussion on any one single subject was occasionally curtailed to ensure full coverage of the topic guide. There was insufficient time within interviews to utilise the research instruments in this study as originally envisaged.

The age of the sample might also be considered a limitation. The decision was taken to select a S4/S5 cohort (aged 14-16 years) on the basis that pupils would be faced with important choices and decisions which would determine future life chances including: studying for national examinations; leaving compulsory education or staying on at school; and selecting pathways towards post-school destinations (entry into Further or Higher Education; type of job or career). The selection of younger or older cohorts would most likely have told a different Glasgow 2014 story, based on the premise that younger pupils might have had greater exposure to school-based initiatives; and older pupils more opportunities for participation, not least being eligible to volunteer as a Clyde-sider.

Finally, the study findings are acknowledged as provisional only. In this study, legacy impacts were examined within the narrow timeframe of one year, with the post-Games fieldwork conducted only several months after the conclusion of the event. The absence of analytical closure in longitudinal studies generally has been well documented in the research literature (Neale, Year Unknown, Thomson and Holland, 2003). As noted in Chapter 2, the assessment of legacy brings additional temporal complexities because of the indeterminate nature of its effects.

## 9.4 Study Implications

### 9.4.1 Contribution to Policy

Preuss (2007) argues that hosting an event in the same city, different events in the same city; or the same event in different cities would create different legacies. While recognising the uniqueness of an event to a host nation and city at any single point in time, there is nevertheless much of a general nature to say about the standard format of sporting mega events and their increasing deployment by city leaders and national governments as policy interventions (Roche, 2006b). The study findings are likely to be of interest to cities aspiring to become future hosts of sporting mega events; cities which have succeeded in their bids to become hosts; and, finally, cities like Glasgow which have hosted a mega event in their recent past. There are also suggestions for future research.

In Chapter 4, questions surrounding the decision to bid for Glasgow 2014 were left unanswered. The main recommendation therefore for aspirant host cities is to undertake an objective impact assessment, taking into account potential opportunity costs, at an early stage of bid preparation. This would ensure transparency and provide the basis for seeking public endorsement. Methods of achieving popular sovereignty such as plebiscites, referenda or other forms of open public engagement would ensure a democratic foundation for future bidding, but these are rarely employed in practice. Vancouver provides a recent example of a city using a local plebiscite to support its bid for the 2010 Winter OG prior to the IOC decision. Although the plebiscite passed with a clear majority, largely due to its social sustainability commitments, the accompanying campaign had the longer-term impact of catalysing opposition which continued to monitor and oppose aspects of the Olympic agenda throughout the entire preparation period (Vanwynsberghe et al., 2012).

The pre-commitment phase also represents a time for lateral thinking about more socially equitable alternatives to hosting a sporting mega event. This recommendation is based on the argument that positive social outcomes might be regarded as independent of the sporting event itself and thus attainable with the right measure of political will. Black (2014) asks the pertinent question why policy levers such as superior local recreation facilities or a commitment to outstanding educational institutions might not in their own right be considered as a more ethical means of branding the city and country in question.



With regard to future host cities, event organisers and overseers should channel greater efforts towards ‘bottom up’ approaches to event planning, especially in host communities which experience the highest level of disruptions to their everyday lives. There should also be clearer boundaries in responsibility between city leaders, who, with their specialist knowledge of the city context, are in a position to take a longer-term perspective in planning leveraging programmes; and organising committees who, with their specialist knowledge of event management, have an eye on their onward migration to the next mega sporting event. Both parties should be held to account through engaged scrutiny by researchers and civil society groups.

Young people are central to the notion of legacy. Yet, as far as Glasgow 2014 was concerned, study participants felt that they had not been singled out by event organisers. The findings indicate that the young people who were most engaged in leveraging initiatives were those who were already socially advantaged, in short, the ‘usual suspects’. This study also found that leveraging projects only surfaced in the months leading up to the event, resulting in a very narrow window of opportunity. Future host cities should plan engagement initiatives over a longer period of time with a broader cohort of young people.

The main challenge for cities like Glasgow which have recently hosted a mega sporting event is the maintenance of interest in legacy post-event. Although the Glasgow 2014 legacy timeframe is ten years, young people perceived that the impetus for change had been lost upon removal of the deadline. That said, Glasgow, with a portfolio of world class venues, aspires to attract further major sporting and cultural events. Its ambitions are set high - despite being eliminated in the first round of voting in the host city election for the 2018 Summer Youth Olympics, the city has cited the preparations for the CWG as a step forward in being able to make a future bid. Future legacy plans should take cognisance of learning from evidence-based research. The views of young people should be sought at an early stage of planning and incorporated into legacy governance structures. To ensure social equity, provision should be made for universal distribution of tickets to all local young people. GCC should also urgently address the perception amongst young people that attention has been diverted away from the East End in the aftermath of the Games.

In terms of future research, it would be useful to follow up this Glasgow 2014 cohort over a number of years to discern effects on horizons generally or on specific aspects of legacy identified in this study e.g. the utility of memory, or the durability and impact of reputational change. More generally, sporting mega events are sociologically complex and multi-

dimensional phenomena, and therefore the study of their legacy impacts should not be the preserve of any one single discipline or perspective. Future research should employ and connect multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary perspectives in a way which more comprehensively scrutinises the recurrent rhetoric of discourse and holds legacy planners to greater account. The research task should not be under-estimated: Grix (2014) asserts that ‘never before has the ‘manufactured consent’ surrounding SMEs [sporting mega events] been so resilient to challenges from the world of evidence-based research’ (p.178). Difficulties arise for researchers when ‘talking against the grain’ has been construed in the past by some policymakers as tantamount to treason (Horne, 2007, Matheson, 2010).

### 9.4.2 Theoretical Contribution

‘Social capital’ and ‘place attachment’ were used in this study of socio-spatial horizons in two ways. Firstly, and in recognition of their accepted heuristic capability, the two theories were combined and deployed deductively during the development of the hypothetical logic model (see 4.5), proving their worth in both informing the assumptions underpinning the model and making explicit the potential legacy mechanisms or pathways towards expanded horizons. For example, new sporting and leisure facilities might conceivably have engendered a greater pride in place; festival activities might have fostered more sociability; school projects might have increased understanding of other cultures; and the advent of visitors might have served to broaden existing social networks. Given that building legacy is an under-theorised topic, this utilisation was in itself both useful and novel.

Secondly, the theories were revisited during the analytical stage in the search for explanations for empirically-observed differentiated outcomes. The current investigation into legacy impacts of Glasgow 2014 provided a useful ‘testbed’ opportunity to gather fresh insights into the two theories, and specifically in relation to young people. Social capital in particular has aroused particular controversy in the academy due to its perceived conceptual ‘stagnation’ (Bassani, 2007). Indeed, the hosting of the mega sporting event in the East End might be constructed as a social capitalist experiment, according to which social resources were invested within a pre-designated spatial entity, regarded by its political leaders as being deficient in social capital, in terms of having the ‘wrong’ type of social network (bonding rather than bridging) and/or ‘excessive’ place attachment (territoriality; narrow spatial horizons). Critically, the study addresses the problem of the theoretical under-specification of young people’s social capital by drawing on rich nuanced data collected from young people directly about their social relationships and interactions, as well as their current

spatial behaviour and future spatial intentions. Whereas previous studies have tended to highlight social capital at an institutional level (family, schools), this study is more contextually holistic. Moreover, the longitudinal design also delivers individual and collective accounts of social capital at two different time points so that dynamic changes in social capital and place attachment can be observed and explicated.

The findings support the emerging view in the literature that place attachment should be made explicit as a core constituent of social capital, not least because social capital is invariably enacted in a spatial context, especially for young people who spend the vast proportion of their time within their local community. Recent theoretical and empirical writing has indicated that this is best represented as a 'sense of belonging' (Morgan and Haglund, 2009, Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004). The study data affirmed the presence of a differentiated and reciprocal relationship between people and place. In this instance, the relationship transcended merely aesthetic or functional concerns (though the latter were evident in young people's accounts of physical changes in their neighbourhoods); rather, it was found to be embodied and enacted at an existential level. Accordingly, perceptions of negative messages received from others about their place of residence impacted profoundly upon young people's individual and collective identity as well as their future social and spatial aspirations. It is through this intimate, integral connection between place identity and personal identity that place attachment helps enact young people's social capital.

The study findings also highlighted conflictual relationships or tensions between the theoretical components of social capital, most notably between 'private' (individual) and public' (collective) goods. In other words, what counts as social capital needs greater specification: for example, is social capital a property of individuals, organizations and societies, or of the relationships between them? The former is more usually associated with Bourdieu and Coleman, while the latter represents the cornerstone of Putnam's communitarian version of social capital. However, if *individuals* are encouraged and supported to increase social capital in the form of bridging social networks for a direct personal benefit (as was the case for the CWG legacy), then this generates a paradox, for the more explicitly instrumental the approach is, then the less it resembles the *shared* values and reciprocity of social capital. In this study, the most aspirational pupils desired a life beyond the East End; while this might be a marker of success for the *individual* concerned (and was construed as thus by key informants), it is unlikely to contribute to the *collective* social renewal of the East End. Indeed, it might be argued that it undermines its very social cohesiveness.

In this study, social capital was found to be inadequate on its own in explaining individual behaviour or aspects of social inequality. At the very least, the theory required to be read, as Bourdieu and Coleman advocated, in relation to other cognate forms of capital such as financial, cultural, and symbolic. Moreover, the study findings also unveiled the influence of individual characteristics or habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) as a significant explanatory variable. In so doing, the data underscored the critical observation that individuals need to have the disposition or mobilising impetus to transform social resources into capital. The ‘capitalisation process’ described earlier in the thesis (Lin, 2001) explained why some young people were disposed to read Glasgow 2014-related opportunities for what they were and were quick to grasp them; while, others experienced a structural lag between their own dispositions and the opportunities available to them, resulting in individual regrets about opportunities ‘missed’.

A final observation emerging from this study is more fundamental still. It questions the extent to which the generic notion of ‘capital’, or social economy, is at all helpful with its notions of building tangible assets for subsequent investment in order to secure a return. Glasgow 2014 represented an injection of social capital into the East End during a defined time period. This input, at its most concentrated during the 11 days of the event, swept aside prevailing social norms and spatial constraints and introduced an extraordinarily heightened sense of belonging to a global community. However, the subsequent return to ‘normality’ was in itself a stark reminder of the impermanence of such social capital. The headline message therefore is that individual and collective social capital requires ongoing commitment and attention; otherwise, it risks becoming dissipated, at least in disadvantaged communities/places. The implication for Glasgow 2014 is that city leaders must maintain their efforts post-spectacle, long after the cameras and wider audience have left the stage.

## 9.5 Concluding Remarks

This empirical investigation sought to address the lack of due attention hitherto in the literature to the social dimension of legacy. On the premise that a theoretical potential for positive social effects existed, the question was posed whether, and to what extent, the Glasgow 2014 hosting succeeded in expanding young people’s socio-spatial horizons. In the final analysis, the simple answer would appear to be: ‘not as much as it might have done’. The study found that event organisers missed opportunities to involve local young people in a meaningful way in legacy planning and to introduce leveraging initiatives at an earlier

stage in the event preparation phase. The assumption of a 'trickle down' effect from legacy initiatives to local young people was also found to be flawed.

The study findings provide some support for the characterising of sporting mega events by critics as neo-liberal Trojan Horses. Athletes' stories, and that of Glasgow City itself, were 'consumed' by many young people as 'ideal' models of behaviour in the context of a globally competitive world. According to this paradigm, rewards are there for those young people willing to dream big, aim high and strive hard. Yet the study data revealed the harsher reality of social inequalities behind this meritocratic veneer of neo-liberalism. In terms of legacy, the data suggested that the socially inequitable distribution of benefits found among study participants might result in perpetuating or even exacerbating these same inequalities.

That said, a reversal of image for the East End seemed to have universal appeal as a positive legacy outcome, reflecting the self-perception of its young residents in dire need of a boost to self-worth or renewed hope. The physical regeneration was welcomed as a symbolic harbinger of a new, more positive spatial discourse. Nonetheless, expectations of a 'fresh start' were dampened upon resumption of normal activities post-event. Moving forward, this underscores the urgent work still to be done in the East End. Policymakers and city leaders should therefore redouble their efforts in seeking to understand the hopes and fears of young disadvantaged people and in working alongside them to develop a more socially inclusive and sustainable youth policy/programme.

Put simply, with the spectacle of Glasgow 2014 now ended, let the 'real' work of building a legacy for young people commence.

## Appendix 1: Letter of Approval from Glasgow City Council



Phone Direct Line 0141-287-3556  
 Fax 0141-287 3795  
 Email [michele.mcclung@education.glasgow.gov.uk](mailto:michele.mcclung@education.glasgow.gov.uk)

Website [www.glasgow.gov.uk](http://www.glasgow.gov.uk)  
 Our Ref : MM/Research  
 Date 9th July 2013  
 If phoning please ask for Dr Michele McClung

Ms Maureen Kidd  
 Urban Studies,  
 Bute Gardens,  
 Glasgow,  
 G12 8RS

Dear Ms Kidd,

**Proposed Research Project – Expanding Horizons? Investigating the Commonwealth Games 2014 Legacy for Young People in the East End of Glasgow.**

Thank you for your completed research application form in respect of the above.

I now write to advise you that this department has no objection to you seeking assistance with your project from Schools in Glasgow. I would confirm however that it is very much up to the Heads of Establishments to decide whether or not they participate and assist you in your research.

**A copy of this letter should be sent to the Heads of Establishments when contacting the schools.**

This approval is also on the condition that as there are young people involved regarding this project, and they are less than 16 years of age, parents **must be informed and must be given the opportunity to opt out of this project**, before such involvement. Young people must also give informed consent prior to

participating in this study. All researchers must have recently approved Disclosure Scotland checks.

I hope that this is helpful and that you have success with your project.

Yours sincerely

*Michele McClung*

Dr Michele McClung  
Principal Officer  
Planning, Performance and Research Unit

## Appendix 2: Topic Guide Wave 1

<b>Welcome &amp; Introduction</b>	Thanks. Describe format and 3 main areas of interest (where you live, your views on hosting of Glasgow 2014, your aspirations for the future). No right or wrong answers! Explain consent form and ask for signature, including preferred contact method. Enjoyable!
<b>Spatial horizons - identity; range; behaviour.</b>	<p>Introduce their map with school already marked up. Set out coloured markers.</p> <p>Can you show me on the map where you live? What's the <b>local area</b> called? What area do you most identify with (for example, if people ask you where you come from, what would you say?) How long have you lived there?</p> <p>How would you describe your area? Probe to find out good things and bad things about the area - does it feel safe, lots of things to do, is it clean? What is your experience of living in the area? What was it like growing up here? Has it got better or worse in your view? Are there places you would like to go, but can't? Any things you would like to do, but can't?</p> <p>How does it compare to other areas in the East End? To the rest of Glasgow? What do you think people living outside the East End think about it? Why?</p> <p>What other parts of Glasgow are you familiar with? Who do you go there with (friends, family), for what purpose (shopping, events etc.), and when/how often? How do you get around? How well do you know other parts of Scotland? Or even further afield - rest of UK or abroad?</p>
<b>Social Network</b>	<p>Now, can you show me on the map where your closest <b>friends</b> live? How long have you known them? How often (and when) do you meet up with them - what sort of things do you like doing with them? What places do you go to? What sort of things do you like to do there? How do you get around the area (walk; cycle; get a lift; use public transport)? How do you keep in contact with them - face-to-face; social media.</p> <p>Do you belong to any <b>clubs or groups</b> (not just sport)? Where are they on the map? How often do they meet? How long have you been going to these clubs? Who or what encouraged you to join? (If not member of any club, ask why not). Tell me what you like about your club, where people come from; your leader. What about after-school clubs?</p>
<b>Meaning and significance of 2014 hosting</b>	As you know, Glasgow is hosting the <b>2014 Commonwealth Games</b> .



	<p>What's the first thing you think of when people talk about Glasgow 2014? What do you think they mean when they talk about the 'Commonwealth?' How does it compare to London 2012?</p> <p>How do you feel about Glasgow hosting the 2014 Commonwealth Games? What about your family and friends? To what extent are the people you know talking about the CWG, and what are they saying about it? How important do you think being interested in sport is in terms of how people feel about the CWG?</p> <p>Who do you think will gain most/least from the CWG coming to Glasgow? How important do you think hosting the CWG is for the East End? What effect do you think the CWG will have on your local area and rest of East End? What do you think is going to be positive/negative about it?</p> <p>In what way has your area changed already because of 2014? - <i>researcher to provide <u>both</u> negative and positive prompts in even-handed way - safer, friendlier, more attractive, cleaner, more things to do; 'feel out of place'; looks unfamiliar</i>). What other changes do you think are still to come? Anything that has not changed?</p> <p>How will hosting the Games change how people here think about the area? What about people who don't live in the area?</p>
<b>Glasgow 014 Engagement Intentions</b>	<p>The Games are not far off now. In what way do you intend to follow the Games or get involved in them (<i>probe if necessary: watch on TV or at 'live site', attend a ticketed event; take part in related sporting or cultural event; volunteering; no plans to do anything yet</i>)? Why - positive prompts (wanted to be part of it; my friends/family were going; lots happening) or negative prompts (cost; no interest; feeling 'out of place'; no-one to go with)? What plans have you made at this point in time?</p> <p>Is there anything in particular that you are looking forward to? Alternatively, anything that you are <u>not</u> looking forward to? What are about your family and friends? Anything you would like to do but can't? If so, why not?</p> <p>Are you aware of anything that has happened or is being planned in your school, local area, local clubs which you would say is connected in some way to 2014? Tell me about that. In what way, if at all, are/were you involved with these (<i>probe: used facilities; joined new club; learnt something new about the Commonwealth; visited cultural sites or events; tried something new; met or talked to new people</i>).</p>
<b>Cognitive Horizons</b>	<p>Introduce <b>Timeline</b>. Past, present and future.</p>

	<p>Looking at the first line. Have there been any changes for you during this time (house moves, personal events, family changes) that are worth noting because they have had a big impact on you?</p> <p>Looking now at the second line. What are your plans or goals for the next 12 months (<i>see what comes up unprompted first, then probe from following: school effort; exam grades; leave school</i>)? What is the main driver for you?</p> <p>Are you aware of what is happening on 18 Sept and what is significant about this date for people your age? Do you intend to vote?</p> <p>Now let's imagine that you're already 21. And we're living in an ideal world. What are your hopes for the next 5 years? What would you like to be doing? Where would you like to be working and living? <i>See what comes up unprompted (career, education, family, money)</i>. Why are these things important to you? Who or what has been the biggest influence in this? Do you know anyone else who has gone down that path already? What part do your mum and dad play? What do they do (job)? Who would you say inspires you the most - why?</p> <p>We don't live in an ideal world! How achievable is your goal, do you think? What do you need to do between now and then in order to achieve your goal? Who would you turn to for help in terms of guidance, advice, information? Who else has a role to play?</p> <p>Is there something, you really wish you could do in the future but don't think you'll be able to? Why?</p> <p>How easy did you find this exercise of looking 5 years ahead? Why?</p>
Close	<b>Feedback on interview experience and reminder about next year.</b>

## Appendix 3: Topic Guide Wave 2

Great to see you again and welcome back! Recap about the **research aim** of wanting to find out what difference it has made to the lives of local young people. If you remember the last time, it's like an **informal conversation** between us but I will be asking **questions** to guide the conversation and to make sure that I cover the areas that I need to for my research. And remember, there are **no right or wrong answers** – just your personal views which will be **confidential and anonymous**. Any questions? Remind about **Recording**.

### Lead Up to Games

When I came into (school) last time, things were starting to build up in the lead up to the Games. Can you bring me up to date with anything that happened in school since then that you think was connected in some way with Glasgow 2014 (events, projects, visits, trips, volunteering opportunities e.g. Fire Reach)?

Were you involved in any of these – why/why not?

Did any of the clubs that you belong to do anything that's connected to the Games?

I also asked whether or not you had made any plans for the Games. How did your plans develop in the lead up to the Games? (Probe).

### Games Time

What I'd like to talk about now is your actual experience of the Games (*special moments/highlights or low points in terms of what you did, what you saw, who you met, where you went, who you went with etc.*). Probe why.

To what extent did you feel part of it?

And how did you feel when it came to an end? In what way did life go back to exactly as it was before?

What is your lasting memory of the CWG?

Was there anything that you wished that you had done but didn't? What stopped you?

And is there anything that you feel that the organisers might have done differently?

### Attitude towards the CWG

Last time we met, you told me how you felt about the CWG coming to the East End of Glasgow. Now that they are all over, what's your opinion (*positive, neutral, negative*)? Why do you think that? Have your views changed, do you think? Why? (*Probe for anything that happened to them or that they might have seen which encouraged them to change their mind*).

Some people said that the CWG is all about sport – in other words, it's of most interest for people who take part in sports or who like to watch it live or on TV. What would you say now to that? Why?

Why do you think the Games organisers chose the EE as the place to host the Games?

### Legacy

Now that the Games are well and truly over, some people are talking about 'legacy', meaning that they are thinking about what will be left behind.

What do you think will be left behind from Glasgow 2014 - for you, for where you live, for young people generally?

And what is the likelihood that what you described as legacy will be a lasting one?

Who do you think gained the most from the hosting of the CWG? (*probe in relation to sporty/non-sporty; spatial; soc-econ; generational factors*).

### **Inspiration**

The Games were presented as a chance to meet new people, try new things and go to different places. To what extent do you think that happened in your case? Have your social groups or friendship circles changed in any way in the past few months/course of this year?

Was there anything or anyone connected with the CWG that inspired you? Tell me a bit more about that.

(*Recap on use of Velodrome etc.*). Has that changed at all since we met? Do you intend to use them in the future? Why/why not? Did you use other facilities before that?

### **Aspiration**

If you remember, we also talked last time about your future aspirations, in terms of what you expected to do and where you wanted to live (*recap these*).

Have this changed for you in any way, and why? *Probe for reasons for wanting to stay; (if they had previously talked about leaving the East End); or wanting to leave (if they had previously talked about staying in the East End); or if there is no change*.

(*If they say that they want to stay in the EE, ask where they would like to work, or how far they would be prepared to travel from the EE*).

Have you taken any decisions or done anything during the past few months/course of this year to help towards achieving your aspirations?

What has been the main factor - if anything - that has shaped your thinking about your future during the past few months/course of this year? (*probe about exam results and any implications arising from these*).

To what extent has the CWG changed your thinking or shaped your goals for the future?

### **Filling the Gaps**

Fill up any gaps or confirm details within node classification table.

**Reminder about forthcoming Focus Group. Thank you.**

## Appendix 4: Focus Group Discussion Wave 1

### Introduction

Welcome back and thank for coming. I first explain that the fieldwork so far has allowed individual responses and personal stories to be gathered. However, the purpose of this session is to understand what they as a group of young people think about the hosting of the Games in their area and what impact it might have on them generally. I then outline the format of the focus group and my different role this time as moderator. I also explain that the focus group will be recorded and therefore it is better that people try to avoid talking at the same time as much as possible.

### Legacy Impact

Show one of two ‘Game on Scotland’ promotional videos<sup>36 37</sup> and after viewing hand out video transcript for subsequent reference - one is mainly narrated by adult authority figures (Head Teacher; PE Teacher; athlete); the other by children and young people themselves. Invite comment on following points:

- Immediate response to the 2014 video and the key messages
- Levels of agreement about particular claims made - about being ‘life changing’, ‘all about young people’, ‘it’s not just about sport, ‘it’s about life in general’, ‘transforming society itself’?
- What opportunities has hosting the Games brought for young people living in the East End - in school and in the community?
- What are the main barriers that might prevent some young people taking up these opportunities?
- What needs to change, if anything, to improve lives in the East End?

### Imagined Scenario

Show video of Scotland winning the bid<sup>38</sup>. Now ask group to imagine the following two scenarios: 1) in which Glasgow had not won the bid to host the Games; and 2) in which Glasgow had won the bid but it was located in the West End rather than the East End.

### Close Down

Thank you for your time. Reminder that I will be back next year.

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<sup>36</sup> [http://www.gameonscotland.org/resources/videos/video\\_tcm4753015.asp](http://www.gameonscotland.org/resources/videos/video_tcm4753015.asp) (2 minutes; 42 seconds).

<sup>37</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=66dlm0HvhJQ> (3 minutes; 29 seconds)

<sup>38</sup> [http://www.gameonscotland.org/resources/videos/video\\_tcm4755490.asp](http://www.gameonscotland.org/resources/videos/video_tcm4755490.asp) (1 minute; 3 seconds).

## **Appendix 5: Game on Scotland Video Transcript**

In 2014 something truly spectacular will happen in Scotland.

Something historic.

Something magnificent. Something to be celebrated.

Something to be proud of.

Something inspirational.

The Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games represent an exciting opportunity in Scottish education.

To inspire learners to go for gold in all aspects of their life.

Together we can raise aspirations and make dreams come true, in every part of the curriculum and in every area of learning.

The Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games are just the beginning, the beginning of something big for the young people of Scotland. By inspiring young people, we can create an enduring legacy.

A legacy that can transform lives through learning and inspiration; transform communities through regeneration projects; and even transform society itself.

Creating a Scotland that is more physically active, healthier, and fairer.

The Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games – be part of it.

## Appendix 6: Key Informant Topic Guide

### Introduction

First, a bit of background by way of explanation for why I'm calling on your time! As you know, through my research, I'm trying to find out what impact, if any, hosting the CWG makes to the lives of YP in the East End of Glasgow. That's a very broad question, so my focus is on whether or not the CWG expands their 'horizons' - how they see the world and their place in it.

### Purpose

I have been collecting personal stories by way of having a baseline before the Games, but what I am missing is context. And there's always a risk that you misinterpret findings, if you don't have this. This interview is trying to correct this - it's mainly fact-finding, but it's also a chance to hear your personal views.

### Consent

I'd like to record the interview to make it easier for me to listen to it again. The recording will be kept in a secure place. Also, your name will not be used, nor will the schools' names. You will be referred to by your job title. This is usually so that people and places can't be identified. However, I have to point out that it is impossible to guarantee 100% anonymity in this study - I am working in a small locality, with only a few secondary schools, and with only a few members of staff.

Are you happy that we proceed on that basis? (Switch on recorder)

Can I just ask you to confirm that you consent to giving this interview? (wait for answer).

### Profile

First thing, it would be helpful if you would tell me about you and your current role in the school, how long you've been at the school and so on.

- What is your particular role with regard to this Fourth Year Group?
- What is your particular role with regard to the CWG?

### Pupil Aspirations, Guidance and Choices

As you know, my research is about the choices that pupils make and their aspirations for the future.

- What are the main decisions or choices that Fourth Year pupils have to make during the year, and when are these made?
- What is the range of options or pathways available to them?
- What impact do you think these decisions will have on their future?
- What support does the school provide in helping pupils make these choices?
- How is this provided (e.g. by staff, in discussion with parents, in partnership with other organisations or institutions)?
- What is the process involved (e.g. 1:1 discussions, information sessions for all pupils, how many, how often)?

- How do you see the role of the school in terms of raising pupil aspirations and providing support in achieving these? Is there a school policy to support raising aspirations?
- How are pupils influenced by their family or background in considering their aspirations and future plans? Are there any other influences that you think are important (friends, media)?
- What sort of programmes or initiatives already exist for pupils to meet new people, people from different backgrounds (e.g. Focus West; Wider Achievement; after school clubs; school trips), and how successful are they in your view?
- To what extent does the neighbourhood where pupils live play a part in shaping aspirations or life chances?

### **The Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games (CWG)**

- The CWG is often described as a 'once in a lifetime' opportunity. What new opportunities and/or resources do you think hosting the CWG brings to the east End and to the school?
- Can you tell me about the main programmes/initiatives which are connected in some way to the CWG - some of these might have already happened, or are being planned? What are the links, if any, to the wider community?
- What is happening under the Game on Scotland banner in the school? Who uses Game on Scotland? How did you select between the activities on offer?
- How important is sport in the overall programme mix?
- To what extent are these 2014-related activities brand new, or in addition to what already exists? (probe existing programmes which might broaden horizons such as school clubs, school trips)
- What impact do you think these 2014-related activities are likely to have?
- Will some pupils take up more opportunities from Glasgow 2014 than others? If so, who are they likely to be?
- What are the main barriers or constraints, in your view? (probe issue of territoriality, financial resources, motivation)
- What overall legacy, if any, do you think the CWG will leave behind for young people living in the East End?

### **Close and Thanks**

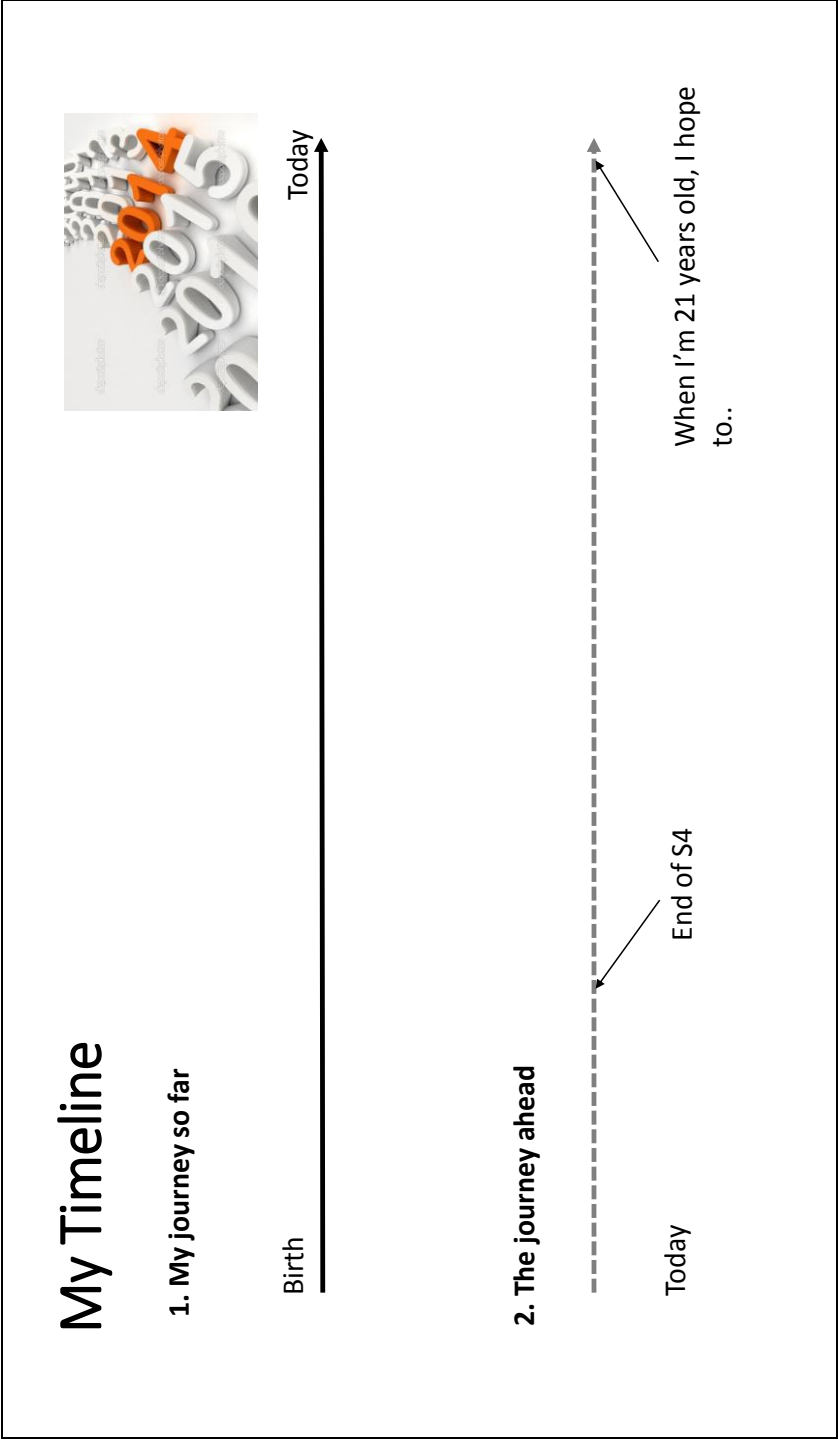
That's all my questions. Is there any area you think we haven't covered, or anything you'd like to add? THANKS!



## Appendix 7: Map of East End of Glasgow



Appendix 8: Personal Timeline



## Appendix 9: Pupil Consent Form



**Title of Project: Investigating the Impact of the 2014 Commonwealth Games on Young People**

**Name of Researcher: Maureen Kidd**

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information leaflet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary, and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I consent to the interviews being audio-recorded and typed up after the interviews.
4. I understand that, in order to protect my privacy, my name will not be used alongside the recordings or written records of the interviews and that a code or pseudonym (false name) will be used instead. Any other identifying information will be edited or removed.
5. I understand that, whatever my decision, this will not affect any current or future assessment of my school performance.

I agree / do not agree (delete as applicable) to take part in the above study.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date



## Appendix 10: Parental Opt-Out Form



### Investigating the Impact of the 2014 Commonwealth Games on Young People in the East End of Glasgow

Dear Parent/Guardian

Your child has been invited to take part in a study about the impact of the 2014 Commonwealth Games on the lives of young people in the East End of Glasgow. This research is being carried out as part of the GoWell partnership between the University of Glasgow, the Medical Research Council, and Glasgow Centre for Population Health. The findings from this study will be used to support improved services for young people across the city, but it will also be of interest to other cities hosting major sporting and cultural events. Most importantly, this study allows the story of the 2014 Commonwealth Games to be ‘told’ by young people themselves.

Your child’s school has been chosen because it is located in the East End of Glasgow where much of the activity surrounding the Games will be. The invitation to take part has been made to all S4 pupils in the school. I am asking for a total of 10 volunteers who are willing to take part in one individual interview and one group discussion in S4. Each of these will last one school period. I will come back in 12 months to carry out a second interview and group discussion. All information provided to me will be treated as confidential, and personal details will not be seen by anyone other than me. Names will be removed from any information provided by your child and replaced with a code or false name so that they cannot be identified. I have also committed to removing all place names and any other information that I think might reveal the identity of those taking part. A report on the findings of the research will be made available to your child’s school.

**What do you need to do as a parent?** If you are happy for your child to take part in the study, you do not need to do anything. However, if you **DO NOT** want your child to participate in the study, please fill in the attached slip and return it to the school before **DATE**.

For more information about the research, please contact Maureen Kidd, School of Social & Political Sciences, 25-29 Bute Gardens, University of Glasgow, G12 8RS. Email:

[m.kidd1@research.gla.ac.uk](mailto:m.kidd1@research.gla.ac.uk) .

.....

**Investigating the Impact of the 2014 Commonwealth Games on Young People in the  
East End of Glasgow**

I confirm that I have read the information sheet for the above study and that I **DO NOT**  
wish my child to participate in the research study

Name of parent/ guardian .....(please print)

Name of school .....(please print)

Name of pupil .....(please print)

**Please return this form to **NAME** at **SCHOOL** before **DATE**.**

## What is the purpose of this research?

Glasgow is hosting the Commonwealth Games in 2014. As the focus for this major event will be the East End of the city, this research aims to find out what impact the Games has on the lives of local young people.

## Why is this research important?

In hosting major sports events like the Commonwealth Games, cities aim to achieve a range of benefits for their residents. This is often referred to as 'legacy'. This study is funded by the Scottish Government as part of a national evaluation and will tell us about the legacy left behind by the Glasgow 2014 Games. It is also part of a larger study of regeneration in Glasgow called GoWell.

The findings from this research will be of interest internationally to other cities bidding for major sports events. The research will also provide valuable information about the future aspirations of young people and what might best help them achieve their goals. The insight gained will be useful in supporting improvement in services for young people across Glasgow.

## How will this research be done?

This study will focus on young people living in Glasgow's East End. It will involve working in partnership with two local secondary schools. Pupils from the S4 year group in each school will be invited to take part in one individual interview and one group discussion, with each taking no more than 50 minutes or a class period. The interview will be repeated a year later, so that changes can be tracked before and after the staging of the Games. For the first round, the interviews and group discussions will take place in schools and within the school timetable, but this may change for the second round depending on whether participants are still at school or not.

## How can young people get involved in this research?

The research needs twenty volunteers in total, ten from each of the two participating schools. The interview will give each volunteer an opportunity to share their personal story of the Games with the researcher and should feel much like an informal conversation. The group discussion in each school will be an opportunity for the

volunteers to exchange their views about the Games. The interviews and the group discussions will be audio-recorded and typed up so that they can be studied afterwards to see what common themes and ideas are emerging.

## Is taking part in this research voluntary?

Participation in the research is entirely voluntary, and volunteers will be reminded that they can change their mind at any time. Whatever their decision, it will not affect their school grades or any other assessment. Parents do not have to provide formal consent but they can request an opt-out on behalf of their children, if they so wish.

## What about confidentiality?

All information will be treated in confidence, and personal details will not be seen by anyone other than the researcher. Names will be replaced by a code so that participants cannot be identified.

Given that the numbers involved in this research are few, there is a possibility that participants might still be identified by what they say, or who they are talking about. The

researcher will therefore ensure that all place names and other identifying information are removed from any quotations used in the research.

If the researcher is made aware of any abuse or criminal activity during this research, then she is obliged to report this to the Head Teacher or another person of authority.

Finally, the Scottish Government or University of Glasgow may decide at a later date to study the impact of the Games over a longer period. For this reason, the information provided will be kept until end 2019 in a secure location. However, consent to take part applies to this study only.

## What will happen to the results of the research?

A report will be made to the Scottish Government and other interested parties such as Glasgow City Council. Articles from the research may be published in academic journals. A report will also be stored in the University of Glasgow library too.

## The researcher

Maureen Kidd is a PhD Research Student at the University of Glasgow. Her background is in Health Promotion within the NHS, where she worked on projects to encourage people to be physically active.

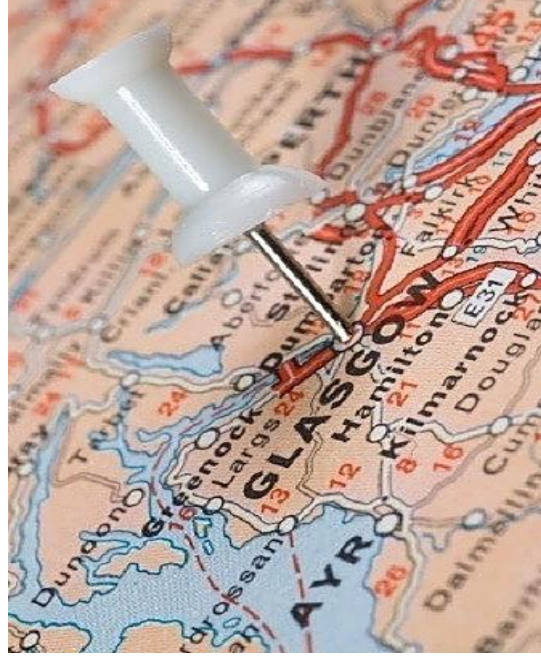
If you want to find out more, please contact Maureen at the address below, or you can email her on [m.kidd1@research.gla.ac.uk](mailto:m.kidd1@research.gla.ac.uk).

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If you have any concerns about the conduct of this project, please contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer, Dr. Valentino Bold at [Valentina.Bold@glasgow.ac.uk](mailto:Valentina.Bold@glasgow.ac.uk)



# A study of the impact of the 2014 Commonwealth Games on Young People in the East End



## Information Leaflet

## Appendix 12: Node Classification

Person	Aspiration Wave 1	Aspiration Wave 2	At least 1 parent or older sibling in Higher Education	Club Membership	Ethnicity	Gender	Neighbourhood	Occupation (Maternal)	Occupation (Paternal)	Place Attachment Wave 1	Place Attachment Wave 2	School attended	Sports Participation	Whether or not born in East End
Adam	None	Restaurant	No	None	Asian	Male	Dennistoun	Unemployed	Unemployed	Desire to stay in East End	Desire to stay in the East End	School B	Non-participant	Born in East End
Avril	Travel agent/physio-therapist	Travel Agent	No	Cultural (drama, dance)	White Scottish	Female	Haghill	SOC Group 9	SOC Group 4	Desire to stay in East End	Desire to stay in the East End	School B	Non-participant	Born in East End
Ben	Actor/Business	Actor	Yes	Other youth group	White Scottish	Male	Haghill	SOC Group 9	Not Applicable	Desire to stay in East End	Desire to stay in the East End	School B	Non-participant	Born in East End
Caitlin	Dentist	Dental Hygienist	No	Cultural (drama, dance)	White Scottish	Female	Dennistoun	SOC Group 6	SOC Group 8	Desire to leave East End	Undecided	School A	Non-participant	Born in East End
Calum	Doctor	Journalist	Yes	Sports	White Scottish	Male	Bridgeton	Unassigned	SOC Group 9	Desire to leave East End	Desire to leave the East End	School A	Competitive or Elite Player	Born in East End
Chris	Actor	Actor	No	Cultural (drama, dance)	White Scottish	Male	Dennistoun	Unemployed 4	SOC Group 4	Undecided	Undecided	School B	Non-participant or Recreational	Born in East End
Chrissie	Actor	Unassigned	Yes	Cultural (drama, dance)	White Scottish	Female	Dennistoun	SOC Group 2	SOC Group 2	Unassigned	Unassigned	School B	Occasional Player	Born in East End
Colin	Optician	Optician or Software Developer	Yes	None	European	Male	Dennistoun	Unemployed 5	SOC Group 5	Desire to leave East End	Desire to leave the East End	School B	Occasional Player	Not born in East End
Danny	Apprenticeship	Construction after HE/FE	No	None	White Scottish	Male	Bridgeton	SOC Group 7	Not Applicable	Desire to stay in East End	Desire to stay in the East End	School A	Recreational or Occasional Player	Born in East End
Dionne	Nurse	Unassigned	No	Sports	White Scottish	Female	Camtyne	Not Applicable	Unassigned	Desire to leave East End	Unassigned	School B	Competitive or Elite Player	Born in East End
Ellie	Doctor	Doctor	Yes	Sports	African	Female	Tollcross	SOC Group 6	SOC Group 2	Desire to leave East End	Desire to leave the East End	School A	Competitive or Elite Player	Not born in East End
Emma	Sport	Undecided/sport	No	Sports	White Scottish	Female	Calton	SOC Group 9	SOC Group 8	Undecided	Desire to stay in the East End	School A	Competitive or Elite Player	Born in East End
Gerry	Aeronautical engineer	Accountant	No	Sports	White Scottish	Male	Camtyne	Unemployed 5	SOC Group 5	Desire to leave East End	Desire to stay in the East End	School B	Competitive or Elite Player	Born in East End



Person	Aspiration Wave 1	Aspiration Wave 2	At least 1 parent or older sibling in Higher Education	Club Membership	Ethnicity	Gender	Neighbourhood	Occupation (Maternal)	Occupation (Paternal)	Place Attachment Wave 1	Place Attachment Wave 2	School attended	Sports Participation	Whether or not born in East End
Gill	Undecided	Undecided	Yes	None	White Scottish	Female	Dennistoun	Unemployed 8	SOC Group 8	Desire to stay in East End	Desire to stay in the East End	School B	Non-participant	Born in East End
Helen	Undecided	Undecided	Unassigned	None	Asian	Female	Dennistoun	SOC Group 2	SOC Group 2	Undecided	Undecided	School B	Non-participant	Not born in East End
Kieran	Sales	Unassigned	No	None	White Scottish	Male	Parkhead	Unemployed	Unemployed	Desire to stay in East End	Unassigned	School A	Non-participant	Born in East End
Leona	Accountant	Accountant	No	Cultural (drama, dance)	White Scottish	Female	Dennistoun	Unemployed 7	SOC Group 7	Desire to stay in East End	Undecided	School B	Non-participant	Born in East End
Linda	Administration	Unassigned	No	None	White Scottish	Female	Gallowgate	Unemployed	Unemployed	Desire to stay in East End	Unassigned	School A	Non-participant	Born in East End
Lisa	Forensic Psychologist	Forensic Psychologist	No	Sports	White Scottish	Female	Camtyne	SOC Group 6	Not Applicable	Desire to leave East End	Desire to stay in the East End	School B	Occasional Player	Born in East End
Louise	Doctor	Journalist	Yes	None	White Scottish	Female	Dalmarnock	SOC Group 3	SOC Group 3	Undecided	Undecided	School A	Non-participant	Born in East End
Luke	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	School A	Unassigned	Unassigned
Manny	Banker	Banker	Yes	Sports	African	Male	Gallowgate	SOC Group 9	Not Applicable	Desire to leave East End	Desire to leave the East End	School A	Competitive or Elite Player	Not born in East End
Michael	None	Unassigned	No	None	White Scottish	Male	Bridgeton	Unemployed	Unemployed	Desire to stay in East End	Unassigned	School A	Non-participant	Born in East End
Morag	Entrepreneur	Entrepreneur	No	None	White Scottish	Female	Calton	SOC Group 4	SOC Group 5	Undecided	Undecided	School A	Non-participant	Born in East End
Peter	Undecided	Undecided	No	None	European	Male	Rutherglen	Unemployed 5	SOC Group 5	Desire to leave East End	Desire to leave East End	School B	Non-participant	Not born in East End
Said	Chemical Engineer	Chemical Engineer	Yes	None	Mixed	Male	Calton	SOC Group 2	SOC Group 5	Desire to leave East End	Desire to leave the East End	School A	Non-participant	Born in East End
Todd	Professional Footballer	Professional Footballer	No	Sports	African	Male	Dennistoun	Unemployed	Not Applicable	Desire to leave East End	Desire to leave the East End	School A	Competitive or Elite Player	Not born in East End

## Appendix 13: Thematic Framework

Name	Description
<b>Aspirations</b>	Aspiration defined as a 'hope or ambition of achieving something' (Oxford Dictionary). Synonyms: desire, hope, dream, expectation, target. Aspirations are closely associated with socio-spatial horizons (see nodes). Interest here is whether CWG raises young people's aspirations, indicating a widening of their socio-spatial horizons. Node also associated with 'inspiration'. Aspiration is about destination, but inspiration is what makes you want to get there.
Future Destinations	Text coded for young people's individual statements about their future goals in response to a question about imagining themselves at the age of 21. Also includes statements by key informants about aspirations more generally.
Future Place	Text coded for places where people say they would like to study, work or live in the future - and why. This will be an indicator of the level of place attachment that exists for individuals.
<b>Attitudes towards Glasgow 2014</b>	Definition of attitude: a settled way of thinking and feeling about something. Attitudes have three components: cognitive (perceptions and beliefs about CWG), affective (how they feel about hosting); and behavioural intentions (planned CWG engagement). My interest here is in the range and diversity of responses, and shifts over time.
Feelings, opinions etc	Text which relates to the affective response or connection with the CWG. Excludes feelings attributed to others. My interest in feelings is their range and diversity; the supporting reasons for these; which groups are most likely to have certain feelings; and finally the direction of travel or shift over time (there will be certain patterns occurring e.g. different starting attitudinal starting points), and accounting for these in terms of the mechanisms which have been triggered.
Negative	Text coded for expressions of negative feelings towards the CWG, and where reasons have been cited for these.
Neutral	Text coded for responses which show neutrality or a middle position. Includes a 'wait and see' response as well as indifference or 'don't know's'. 'Apathy', meaning 'I don't care', was more difficult to categorise - this response was classified as 'neutral', if it was due to not having given the matter much thought previously (i.e. it did not indicate rejection as such, which would have placed it in the 'negative' category). Includes lukewarm responses.



Name	Description
Positive	Text coded for positive feelings about the CWG in terms of levels of enthusiasm, excitement etc. Includes other feelings such as (pleasant) surprise. Excludes shock where this is considered a bad feeling.
Imagined Event	Given that these young people have had no prior experience of the CWG, they were asked to imagine Glasgow 2014 in their head prior to the event - in order to reveal underlying attitudes towards the CWG. Text coded in Wave 2 to how the Games compared to these expectations.
Legacy Benefits	Text relating to the meaning and significance of Glasgow 2014, including the range of hosting benefits to people and places. My interest in perceived benefits is in the range and diversity; the balance between tangible and intangible; perception of main beneficiaries; and perceived personal benefits - plus change over time (using sets to scope the query).
Beneficiaries	Text coded for striking comments which relate to specific groups of people, specific places or organizations young people say are most likely to benefit from the hosting of the CWG.
Personal Connection or Benefit	Text coded for any direct benefits which accrue to them personally or to people close to them - family and friends.
Intangibles	Text coded for benefits which are 'intangible', defined as 'unable to be touched; not having physical presence' or 'not constituting or represented by a physical object and of a value not precisely measurable' (Oxford Dictionary). Features such as reputation, image are considered an intangible because, although attempts are made to measure them, it cannot be done easily or consistently. Aesthetics is more difficult to assign - you can see it but it is hard to measure - coded here under 'intangible'.
Tangibles	Text coded identifying benefits which have a physical existence and/or can be touched or measured e.g. infrastructure or money. Employment and tourist benefits are deemed to be tangible here because they can be readily measured.
London 2012	London 2012 has been valued by the organisers of Glasgow 2014 as a primer for the 2014 CWG. This node brings together text relating to the London 2012 and responses to questions about how the two events compare as well as their prior experience of London 2012.
Meaning of the 'Commonwealth'	Coded text which relates to prior knowledge and understanding of the 'Commonwealth'.



Name	Description
Scottish Independence	<p>This topic was only raised in early interviews - or in later ones when the topic arose organically. Two reasons: most young people are not old enough to vote in September; it became apparent that most were unaware of the fact that Scotland had its own national team in the CWG (making the topic of nationhood an odd one to raise). I concluded that the concept of nationhood might best be discussed post-event.</p>
Sport	<p>Text coded in order to explore the extent to which Glasgow 2014 is perceived as a sports event and whether an interest in sport influences attitudes towards the CWG. It also includes text coded for lay understanding of sport and attitudes towards sport generally. My interest here is to see whether the perception of the CWG as a sporting event has changed over time.</p>
<b>Glasgow 2014 Mechanisms</b>	<p>Nodes here are drawn from interim theory of change, which hypothesises how Glasgow 2014 might conceivably achieve the outcome of expanded socio-spatial horizons. Interest here is in gauging whether or not they were a good 'fit', how they worked, and what the contextual influences were.</p>
Education & Learning	<p>This sub-theme explores the exposure of young people to the CWG programme through the school setting - curricular, trips, visits, projects, events etc. It also contains text that relates to the way that the schools have engaged with the various 2014 programmes.</p>
Inspiration	<p>Definition: Inspiration is the process by which the mental stimulation takes place to do or feel something. It denotes that some kind of influence is involved in the process of stimulation. Theoretical proposition is that young people would be inspired by the visitors to their school/area (tourists; athletes; media; 2014 volunteers) and would motivated to do something different, go somewhere different, or meet new people, with resulting impact on horizons. Associated with Aspiration node.</p>
Participation & Engagement	<p>This is about joining in the celebration and taking part in events etc. The comparison between Wave 1 and Wave 2 will be achieved by creating two separate sets for comparison. Includes watching on TV at home, attending cultural and sporting events outside the home, visiting cultural attractions during Games Time, or activities through community clubs or groups. Excludes school-based involvement because this comes under Education &amp; Learning.</p>
Before the Games	<p>Text coded which describes actions before the Games in terms of planned engagement and participation in 2014-related projects and programmes (overlap with schools here since most programmes emanated from schools).</p>
Games Time	<p>Text coded which describes what participant did during Games time - where they went; who they met etc. Interest here will be in assessing break from normal routine and how they felt about that.</p>



<b>Name</b>	<b>Description</b>
Atmosphere	Text which captures the words they use to describe what it felt like to be there during Game Time.
Regrets	This includes any text in which participants talk about anything that they wish that they had done now that the CWG are over. This was more often than not prompted directly by the interviewer about whether or not they had any regrets. This code also includes responses to the question about what they felt the organisers might have done differently to maximise participation.
Place Transformation	Definition of transformation: 'marked change in form, nature, or appearance (Oxford Dictionary). Here, changes relate to place and to physical environment only. Code text for young people's accounts of physical changes in their area and their response to this. Excludes what others might think - this is coded under benefits. Associated with Attitude to Place/Perception of Change (which includes social transformation).
Use of new or refurbished facilities	70% of the sports facilities were open to the public prior to the Games. Text coded here for statements about use of facilities, primarily Velodrome and Emirates Arena, by young people.
Good Quotes	Depot for quotes which are striking and memorable.
School	School is social institution, and this study was carried out in a school setting. It was shown to have a huge significance in 1) its potential to alter the social spatial horizons of young people and 2) its mediating influence on the 2014-related programmes (see Education & Learning). In sum, it was found to be much more than a research setting, but an area of study in its own right.
Policy and Ethos	Policy defined as: 'a course or principle of action adopted or proposed by an organization or individual' (Oxford Dictionary). Ethos defined as: 'the characteristic spirit of a culture, era, or community as manifested in its attitudes and aspirations' (Oxford Dictionary). Text coded here which relates to educational and/or school policy and the guiding principles underpinning school practice.
Post-16 Destination	Text coded for young people's statements about plans for end of S4.
School Support and Guidance	This sub-theme captures the expectations that school staff have about their pupils, the segmentation of pupils according to their most likely destination/potential, and the types of support available.
School Partnerships	Text coded to provide details of existing partnerships with Further and Higher Education, social welfare agencies, and the private sector.
Transition to Senior Phase	This code arose from the observation that these young people were crossing an important transition in their school career, which had some bearing on their destinations and future life chances. Text coded here describes how both young people and school personnel view this transition and the negotiation process involved.



Name	Description
<b>Social Horizons</b>	'Horizons' useful metaphor denoting limit, range or scope of a person's knowledge, experiences or interests. Text coded here for social relationships (family; friends; teachers). My interest here is the extent to which, and how, young people's social horizons are expanded because of the CWG - new clubs/groups; new social encounters, new social norms etc.
Club Membership	This sub-theme will look at the different types of clubs (sport; drama; computer) that young people might belong to, and the reasons for joining them or not joining them. Includes associated groups such as church community.
Family	Seen in the literature as the most important social network in providing access to social and cultural capital, this theme will pull together what young people say about their family in terms of their expectations of them, the direction they provide and the nature of the support they offer in realising their aspirations.
Friends and Peers	Text coded here which gives some indication of the range of their friendship groups and the sort of influence that they might have on life choices.
Local Norms	Coded text which denotes local norms and expectations about appropriate activities and aspirations. Includes expectations of self as well as others' expectations of them.
School	Text coded here which refers to ways in which schools provide social capital for their pupils and extend their social horizons. Read in conjunction with School/Support and Guidance. It is about gathering insight into extent and process by which schools influence and support young people's aspirations.
<b>Spatial Horizons</b>	'Horizons' useful metaphor denoting limit, range or scope of a person's knowledge, experiences or interests. Text coded here which refers to young people's spatial horizons, as indicated by their place identity or sense of belonging, their spatial freedom and constraint, and spatial behaviour. My interest here is the impact of the CWG on all of these aspects (e.g. do they feel 'out of place' in their own area; are they encouraged to go to new places beyond their usual spatial boundaries etc).
Attitudes to Place	Definition of attitude: 'a settled way of thinking or feeling about something' (Oxford Dictionary). Synonyms: frame of mind, way of thinking, belief, feeling. Three parts: cognitive (perceptions; beliefs); affective (feelings); and behavioural intentions (how a person wants to behave). Third part is dealt with under 'Future Place'.



Name	Description
Bad Aspects	Text coded for both spontaneous and prompted response to question about the bad aspects of their local area. Interest here is in the range of responses, how young people feel about these, and the implications for their everyday lives. Includes for the large part accounts about gangs and territorial behaviour.
Good Aspects	Text coded here for what young people say is good about their area.
How other areas are seen	Text relating to young people's views of places outside the East End (attitudes towards the East End is covered in place identity). Includes young people's view of the West End. Note language used in making these comparisons.
How others see my area	This sub-theme contains text about young people's perception of the reputation of the East End, how they feel about this, and the extent to which they agree with it.
Perception of Change	Coded text for statements relating to young people's perception of change, both prompted and unprompted. Questions of interest are: what has changed - places, people, or both? What is unlikely to change?
Place identity	Text coded here which gives a sense of where young people feel that they 'belong' and indicates the place that they have most affinity with. Place might be a street, a housing scheme, neighbourhood, wider community, the East End, or Glasgow city. Includes different levels of spatial awareness.
Spatial Behaviour	
Leisure Activities	This sub-theme looks at the sort of things that people do in their area. It overlaps with 'friends' and 'family' in Social Horizons, since most leisure activities will be done with family and friends.
Modes of transport	This sub-theme includes information about how people get around their area.
Spatial Constraints and Freedoms	This subtheme looks at responses to questions about areas that they would not be happy to go to, or how safe they feel moving around their area. Includes reasons for their responses and the different coping strategies deployed. I merged the sub-node 'usual spatial boundaries', denoting spatial comfort zones into this (Jan 14 2015), as I felt that there was too much of an overlap.
Travel beyond Glasgow	Coded text in response to question about travel beyond Glasgow, which was asked of all young people. These are the more infrequent trips beyond their usual spatial boundaries. Includes school trips, holiday destinations and family visits.

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